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STATE OF THE WORLD

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ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS OF WORLD
POLITICAL, MILITARY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOVES

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Europe's Reaction

Top brass and top hats start trek to Washington

BY THE EDITORS

THE CHANCELLERIES of Europe are feverishly revising their international, and even domestic, policies in the light of the results of the American election.

With the exception of some Socialist Ministers in the French Government and a few members of the British Cabinet, most of Europe's statesmen accepting the pendulum theory of politics, expected the US—after 16 years of Rooseveltian liberalism—to turn to a more conservative administration. These convictions were strengthened and confirmed by the unanimity with which the American press predicted that outcome.

For six months European governments had been gearing themselves for the day when a new administration would take over in the US. They tried to assess in advance the repercussions of the change not only on financial aid and the Marshall Plan but, above all, on their domestic politics. For, much today is America's influence, that its political trends are inevitably bound to influence considerably all European politics.

CONSERVATIVES HOPED FOR A REPUBLICAN VICTORY

Rightly or wrongly, European Rightists and Conservatives decades ago identified the Republican Party with themselves and have since so consistently held it to be their party, their US counterpart, that the idea of kinship came to be accepted generally. In natural consequence, Europe's Conservatives, joyfully predicting a Republican victory, expected from it an appreciable increase in their own strength.

LEFT OF CENTER HOPED FOR DEMOCRATIC VICTORY

Europe's middle-of-the-roaders and those left of center have been at a disadvantage in the debate on the future American administration. They, who were instinctively for the victory of the Democratic Party, did not dare to speak their hopes aloud, and began to establish preliminary contacts with Republican spokesmen in Europe.

EXTREME LEFT PREPARED NEW ATTACKS AGAINST US

Extreme leftists, also convinced of a Dewey victory, were anticipating it as an opportunity to prove their case that America has definitely turned away from the philosophies of Mr. Roosevelt.

They were prepared to contend that, by so doing, the US had adopted an all-out imperialistic and reactionary program. And their plans had been made for new blows against the Marshall Plan immediately after the election, with the hope of winning Socialist workers away from the Plan, and jeopardizing—through exasperation—any chances of ERP extension by a Republican Congress.

UNDERSTAND AMERICAN SYSTEM AT LAST

In following an American election more intently than ever before, Europeans got a better understanding of US governmental machinery. In the eyes of the European, the focal point of the election was, of course, the struggle between Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey. But, in following that contest, he came to realize the importance of elections to the Senate, the body which must ratify all international agreements including those of vital concern to Europe. Eventually he grasped the significance of the elections to the House of Representatives as he had impressed on him how much control of the House means to the freedom of action of a president.

For the first time, because of their extraordinary interest in this election, the American system of government is being seen in its true perspective by the peoples of Europe—and of the world. For the first time non-Americans begin to grasp the idea of the constitutional system of checks and balances, become aware of the difference between the typical European government (in which the executive must be backed by a parliamentary majority—even though an unstable coalition) and the American system in which the legislative and executive branches may represent opposite political parties.

FIVE MAJOR REPERCUSSIONS OF US ELECTIONS

According to highest diplomatic sources, the five major results of the election in Europe will be:

1. Confidence in the continuity of the Marshall Plan and expanded flow of trade with Europe;
2. Strengthening of the center, left-of-center and Socialists, at the expense of the right wing;
3. Weakening of the effectiveness of the political offensive of the ex-

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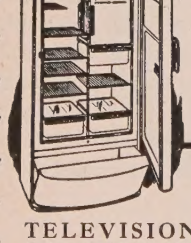

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State of the World *continued*

treme Left against closer economic, military and political ties with the US;

4. Definitive shifting of the political leadership of the West from Great Britain to the US;
5. Decrease in war hysteria.

WASHINGTON: Most of the top-ranking ambassadors are convinced that one of the results of the election will be that Washington will become the uncontested political capital of the Western World.

Despite budget cuts for overseas personnel on the part of many governments, the staffs of Washington embassies will nonetheless be enlarged by top-drawer political and military experts and technical advisers.

Arsenal of democracy during World War II, Washington became in the post-war period the treasure-house of western economic reconstruction and recovery. But it had never quite been the genuine political and ideological center of the Western World.

Western leadership was exercised by London which, with its Labor Government, seemed a much more natural fountainhead of policy for a Europe oriented toward the left. If the Republican Party had won last month's election, Europe's socialists and liberals would have found it impossible to weather successfully the communist attacks which would surely have come if they had allowed a conservative American government to act as their supporter and guide.

But now with a Democratic-New Deal Administration, London will take a second seat. President Truman, who has acquired great personal stature in the eyes of world opinion, and has become the very symbol of democracy, will be visited by a considerable number of very distinguished world statesmen within the near future.

The first significant event to exemplify Washington's new role as the Western World's political center of gravity, and of great decisions, will be a conference to be held there early in 1949 calling for the formation of an "Atlantic Defense Union." It will bring to Washington as the headquarters for this move some of the high military and political figures of U France, Belgium, Netherlands, Lu embourg and Canada.

The Tragedy of the Brigadier

PARIS: The amazing military pro ess of the Israeli armed forces h had as one of its many consequenc the termination of Brig. Patrick Clayton's career. On October 12, t author of the Clayton Plan (UNW May) who, in the event of Arab vi tory, would have been virtual pr consul of the entire Middle East— left Cairo for Britain and retiremen a bitter and broken man.

The functions hitherto exercised b Brigadier Clayton were taken ove partially, by Harold Beeley, whos headquarters are not in Cairo but the Palais de Chaillot. On October Beeley had received a special deleg tion of Egyptian and Syrian officia and firmly promised them that co siderable aid would be forthcomin not only from Britain alone but i the form of UN sanctions.

October was, in fact, "sanction against-Israel-month" with Britai and China taking the initiativ France following reluctantly and th US expected to join in after the R publican victory. Some of the Ara countries, militarily shattered by th success of Israeli arms, politicall disturbed, their prestige seriousl weakened, economically unable t bear any longer the cost of waging losing war, considered direct dea ings with Israel as the only way ou

Though Mr. Beeley is set on sav ing the unity of the Arab League other members of the Commonwealt are not enthusiastic about his cru sade. Several have attempted to cou teract the UK's attitude. Lester B Pearson, Canada's Secretary for Ex ternal Affairs, was particularly ac tive in this project. Pearson and th Foreign Ministers of Sweden an Norway are pressing for a decisio in the UN that would bring peace t the Middle East. They are eager fo

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Canada, Sweden and Norway to proclaim publicly what is already a Cabinet decision in those three nations—the recognition of the State of Israel.

The Israeli were invigorated, the Arabs—next to the Chinese—the most downhearted delegates in the lobby of the Palais de Chaillot when President Truman's victory became known. According to shrewd diplomatic observers, an agreement could have been reached on November 4-5 and peace overtures could have been formularized, had Great Britain then confirmed to the Arabs how greatly the situation had changed—and had the US delegation made known its new attitude.

At this writing, the situation in Paris is as follows: The Arab States have completely reversed their stand of last May when they severely condemned the UN, threatened withdrawal and announced full-fledged military action as a *fait accompli.* Today, they pin all their hopes on the United Nations. The Israeli, who last May put all their hopes in UN mediation, have also reversed their original stand and are now belligerently convinced that direct negotiations between the Arab States and Israel is the only way to achieve peace.

And the UN, while it argues and squabbles over cease fire orders, demilitarized areas, truces, mediation proposals, armistice, has now only one legally binding text to guide it. That is the original partition plan adopted last year by the General Assembly.

The Conciliation Committee of the UN, when and if it convenes, will have three beacons to guide it in its labors: the Assembly partition recommendation, the Bernadotte Plan and—above all—the force of realities as they exist on the spot.

No More Arms For China Reds

SHANGHAI: It is by no means sure that Chiang Kai-shek will get any further US military aid. Washington is beginning to see that it does not make sense to send him arms that soon fall into Communist hands. It may be felt, however, that military supplies can more safely be sent to the stronghold that T. V. Soong has been building in South China.

The advance of the Red armies has been speeded up by the American trucks they have got by capture or otherwise. After each of their victories they are better armed and equipped than before the battle. Often they have more men. Nanking's recent order forbidding officers to take their wives to the front is interpreted in anti-Kuomintang channels as an effort to prevent the officers going over to the other side. Their wives will, in effect, be held as hostages.

Meanwhile, there is every reason for the US to increase and rush food to China. For with a new wave of inflation and a desperate shortage of rice, the people are suffering more than ever. (See Pearl Buck's analysis and proposal on page 6.)

Nanking expects the Communists to consolidate their holdings in North China and set up machinery for a central government. The Communists announced in mid-November that they would make no peace with "the present leaders" of the Kuomintang, but that they thought it might take a year to overthrow them.

Mysticism Of Commonwealth

LONDON: The ability of the British Crown, standing as mystic symbol, to achieve and maintain unity in diversity was demonstrated again in London at meetings of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. They ended in a still-undisclosed agreement which will establish a formula that would enable Commonwealth Members to enjoy complete independence while adhering to Commonwealth economic and political principles and practices.

Students of constitutional law may find it somewhat difficult to understand the structure of an organization which, as the Commonwealth now does, includes monarchies and republics and various gradations of both drawn and held together only by the magic magnetism of the Crown. But history has shown the Commonwealth to be very flexible and durable—and very real in time of emergency.

Prime Minister Nehru of India and South Africa's Economics Minister Louw (who was Prime Minister Malon's representative at London) face the delicate task of submitting this new approach toward Commonwealth structure to their highly national parliaments. The latter are expected to debate the issue exhaustively but, in the end, to find a device for reconciling their own national aspirations with the new Commonwealth body.

The Conference's wish not to disregard or slight the authority of the Indian and South African Parliaments, explains in part its reluctance to make any official announcements as to the forms and lines the new association may assume. Moreover, the Conference, which accepted the idea of regional groupings, in general, and which endorsed Britain's full participation in the Western Union of Europe in particular, did not specify that these alignments would be interlocked by formal agreements. The South African delegation hesitated to go on record as ratifying a principle which might bind any African grouping in which it would play a leading part to automatic assistance to an Indian Ocean grouping that would embrace India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

Despite these reservations, dictated by considerations of domestic politics, the Commonwealth talks are regarded as a major success. Conference participants seem confident that the Commonwealth idea, modified here and there, is still resilient enough to meet the simultaneous tests of break-away trends, and of the prevailing crisis in great power relations.

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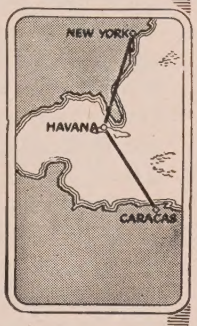

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*On duty at the General Assembly in Paris.

UN WORLD
THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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Pearl Buck

interprets the chaos in China

The People Will Be Free

THEIRS IS NOT A CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGIES

BUT A BIRTH STRUGGLE

TO GAIN THE GREAT RIGHTS OTHER MEN

ELSEWHERE HAVE BUT NEWLY WON . . .

TO LIFE AND LIBERTY AND THE POSSIBILITY OF HAPPINESS

SLOWLY and painfully the lesson of our times is being writ so large and plain that even the politicians of the world can read it. *The peoples will be served.* That which has become explosion in China took place quietly in England at the end of the war, has just taken place in its fashion in the United States, is still struggling to take place in Europe. In India, too, the people are watching and waiting. They are giving their own government a chance. If it should fail them, if it does not serve them, the mighty uproar would burst forth there, too. Latest of all will it come in the countries of South America and in Africa. But even there it has begun. The people everywhere are waking to the knowledge that they have the right to live, the right to be free, the right to pursue happiness. Seeds planted centuries ago in Europe, seeds brought first from Asia, and then to the New World, are now coming to flower and fruit, in this, the greatest age which the human race has ever seen.

Those seeds, some of them, came from China. The idea of the sovereignty of the people and the duty of government to serve them is as old as Confucius himself. It is entirely fitting and to be expected that the most spectacular flowering, therefore, should be in China today. What is happening there is no sudden push of political adventurers. Adventurers always seize their chance in any disturbance, and they may do so now. But only the superficial mind can see in China today, or in the world, a mere conflict between two ideologi It is not even a conflict—it is a stru gle not by two but by one—and th one is the people, of China as of t world—to emerge into a place whe they can live. If Communism serv Communism may continue. If Co munism, too, fails the people, then will be cast away and the struggle w go on, not against other peoples, n between peoples, but for life itse The people of any and all countri do not want wars of mutual destru tion. They are all struggling separat ly and even blindly toward the sam goal, as plants, weak and strong alik struggle with irresistible force towa the light. This is the lesson of o times and it remains to be seen wh learns it first. The ones who do w have the power of shaping the ne age. But they will keep this pow only so long as the people, any an all, have hope of their being serve

China is huge, and whatever ha pens there happens on a massi scale. A little over twenty years ag Chiang Kai-shek, still young and vi orous, arrived in Nanking to set u a new government. The people China received him with welcome. H had his chance. They give anyone chance. They have given him twen years to prove that his governme could serve the people. Today the are on the search again, in search what the government he formed ha not been able to give them. They a hungry and none has fed them. The are ragged and none has clothe them. They are sick and not heale they are ignorant and not taught. A this they know and they are on th march again. It is not yet an activ march, in spite of rice riots and re ugees. Most Chinese are still at hom They stay until the last moment i their villages and market towns an little cities. They seem passive unt despair is complete, they seem indi ferent even as the Communist horde threaten and overwhelm. But they a neither passive nor indifferent; wit furious determination they are activ ly searching for those who will giv them their rights.

What shall we do? What can w do? When I say we, I mean first th bewildered and even terrified nation who behold this mighty spectacle i China. The United Nations, perhaps can do nothing, since they have no yet forged the arm of supra-nationa cooperative government, which alon would be able to act at this moment

Upon the United States, in the meantime, will fall the responsibility of action—or no action, and the responsibility is equally heavy whatever is done.

What then, can the United States do in the vacuum created because the United Nations cannot yet move with power?

First of all, Americans can and must realize that what is going on in China is not an ideological struggle, except in the minds of a few intellectuals and politicians who cannot themselves understand their own people. Unless Americans understand fully that all ideologies are now merely incidental, anything they do will be of no significance. It will be wasted as the billions of American dollars poured into China since V-J Day have been wasted. Some Chinese armies, equipped with American trucks and American weapons, have deserted wholesale to the Communist side. To give money and equipment to those whom the people have rejected is folly indeed.

If the United States chooses, nevertheless, to persist in this folly with any hope of success, it will be necessary to commit it on a grand scale. It will be necessary to send American armies to China to fight those whom the Chinese will not fight. This would be at frightful cost. It might, indeed, be the beginning of the Third World War. What would make such action the ultimate folly, so far as the American people are concerned, is that the Chinese people would not support the American armies. The United States would find itself in the ridiculous position of going forth to "save" those who do not want such salvation because they do not believe it will really save them. Americans would find themselves on Chinese soil, fighting Soviet-backed forces on one front and the Chinese people on the other. It is too late for this sort of help. What Americans have failed to understand is that it has been too late ever since the end of the Second World War. All that has been done so far has not served the Chinese people.

Realizing, then, that the present war in China is not a war of ideologies, we may proceed to a plan of definite and constructive action to serve, not an ideology, but a people.

Like people in any country, the Chinese cannot and will not set up a new government for themselves. They act by rejection. They know what they want and if the government they have does not give it to them, they reject it. If they reject their present government, there are two possibilities of a new government to be set up out of the present war. The first is a Nationalist government so reformed that it amounts to a new one, even to coalition of present opposing forces. The second is the emergence of a group of men who would declare themselves victors and assume power. Whatever the new government, it would probably be made up of men inexperienced in such power. They would not know how to make a government or to govern. They may know what the people want but it is doubtful whether they will know how to give it to them. They may have controlled segments of the people in rough-and-ready, semi-military fashion, but of the organization and administration of a nation they can have no conception.

And the people will be impatient. Twenty years they have given to Chiang Kai-shek, but this time there will be no 20 years. When Chiang came to power the people were still fairly well off. Today they are desperate. A new government will be compelled to work quickly—far more quickly than it can possibly do, unaided.

WHAT THE FUTURE CAN BRING—FOR CHINA AND FOR THE US

Aid must come from somewhere, and it will come. If the United States pursues a short-sighted policy and refuses aid except on ideological agreement, then Asia is lost to the West. But if somewhere can be found a few American men who understand the meaning of what is going on in China and its full significance in a world of peoples moving in the same direction, then they will somehow and over all obstacles get aid to the Chinese people, by whatever government there is. They will send food to China in such quantities that the centers of starvation will be quieted. They will send technicians to put communications into working order so that the supplies of food which China has can be distributed. They will organize and set up engineering projects which will make possible further production of both food and goods. They will, in short, make the government function as swiftly as possible, without stopping to quibble over ideologies or even to count the cost.

Only thus can the people be won, and that new government, whatever it is, will know it. Its very existence will depend upon swiftness. And that is America's chance. The investment will be repaid a thousandfold in world stability. For inevitably that new government will learn through the thorough-going and practical aid which Americans alone, out of their plenty, can give. The new government will become dependent upon this aid and long before they can function independently they will have become shaped by it.

The alternative is no American aid. Short-sighted and reluctant persons may say, "Why not let the new government fail, especially if it should be Communist?" Why not? Because if it is Communist, others will not let it fail. If it is not supported and thereby shaped by American aid, it will be supported and shaped by aid from Soviet Russia.

Americans, however, have the edge in goods and techniques, and if these are used with the utmost and therefore the most prudent generosity in speed and quantity, the Chinese people themselves will decide against Communist ideology. For ideology alone is the stone which a man gives his son for bread. Ideology cannot feed the hungry or heal the sick or visit the man who is in prison. It is only when ideology begins to do these practical things that it becomes dangerous—or effective, as the point of view may be. Americans themselves ought to know that now, after these years of seeing their own ideology fail, even when backed up in other countries by American arms.

There is still another possibility. Chiang Kai-shek may retreat to the South and China may be divided into two parts. What then? If Americans still think in terms of ideology and war, they will aid only the South. If they think in terms of China, however, they will send aid to all China's people, under whatever ideology they live for the moment. Ideologies come and go, but the people are eternal.

I write these words in the small dark hours of a certain night. As surely as I know I write them I know that the dawn will come. The people will be served. Who knows that first and acts upon it first will win the new day.

A DRAMATIC EYE-AND-CAMERA ACCOUNT OF AN EAST-WEST POLAR OUTPOST

WHERE HOT-BLOODED, HARDY YOUNG MEN OF FIGHTING AGE

LIVE AND WORK UNBELLIGERENTLY ISOLATED FROM GREAT POWER MANEUVERS

SEA COMMUNICATION. RUSSIAN ICEBREAKER 'HERKULES' FORCES ITS WAY INTO GREENFJORD, SOVIET P

No Cold War on Frigi

BY LADISLAS FARAGO

Senior Editor

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS BY GOESTA OLLEN

It is no secret that both East and West, in the cold war of words, have looked to the frigid Arctic as the arena in which to wage a possible hot war of blood and atoms and steel. The area itself is the secret—sunless for months each year, icebound except in midsummer.

Last summer officials of the United Nations and of member nations became seriously concerned over overt activities of both sides in the Arctic, and rumors of covert moves and plans. UN WORLD consequently commissioned Senior Editor Ladislas Farago to investigate. His mission was to find out what role the European Arctic generally and Spitsbergen particularly play today in Great Power relations. The following are the first items in a comprehensive report from Scandinavia and Spitsbergen.

SPITSBERGEN (VIA OSLO)—"There are eight great industrial areas in the world today of sufficient productivity to be significant factors in a full scale war. . . . All of these key areas lie above 30 degrees north latitude, and the two great land masses on which they are located—the Eurasian and North American continents—have one region of common tangency: the Arctic Ocean with its impassable ice cap.

"Although the polar ice cap is impassable to ships or surface forces, it offers no barrier to aircraft flying above it. The shortest air route between the central United States and the Urals, between Alaska and Germany, or between Greenland and Japan, lies directly over the polar region."

Thus, in his final report as chief of staff of the US Air Force, Gen. Carl Spaatz defined the strategic importance of the Arctic. Similar views have been held by many other famous airmen, from Gen. William E. Mitchell to Col. Bernt Balchen. In a speech in Norway, in the winter o 1947, Balchen bluntly declared th the Arctic would be a focal point i any future war.

A few weeks ago, Colonel Balche was dramatically recalled to activ duty with the US Air Force. His r activation was one of several mov in which the Arctic figured mo prominently. The others include:

■ The journey to the Arctic of S John Cunningham, First Sea Lor with important elements of Britain Home Fleet.

■ Large-scale cold-weather mane vers of the US Navy in the North A lantic, involving 31,000 officers an men, 65 ships, 31 aircraft squadron

■ Preparations for similar exercise in the Arctic Ocean, to be held i February by the US Pacific Fleet.

■ Prolonged Arctic experiments co ducted by the US and Canadia Armies in the Hudson Bay area.

■ The decision of the US Air Forc to send B-50 bombers to Alaska o rotating training missions.

■ The development of Russian mil

Arctic Scoop No. 1

Inside report on a strategic island

NORWEGIAN GOVERNOR

WOULD GIVE THE UN'S ATOMIC DELEGATES

A LIVING LESSON

IN HOW TO GET EFFECTIVE CONTROLS

Spitsbergen

MAP shows why Spitsbergen is a key point on the shortest route from East to West.

tary outposts on Rudolph Island, northernmost of the Franz Josef Group, about 82°N.

■ The appearance of Soviet submarines as far as 86°N., undergoing severe tests in extreme cold.

■ Russian Air Force daily "ice reconnaissance" from bases on Dixon Island and Tixie Bay, so that "scores of polar flyers" may "acquire the special training and skill needed for their work in the Arctic."

Military pre-occupation with the Arctic is matched by diplomatic activities. The three great powers—US, UK and USSR—are all jockeying for positions in Greenland and Spitsbergen, the vast polar stepping stones to competing continents.

In the Arctic I found confirmed what Director Harald Sverdrup of the Norwegian Polar Institute told me in Oslo:

"The friendly Arctic has been stripped of its former mysteries. The airplane has turned it into an open book for all to read without much eye strain." But there is a certain peril in this new familiarity—a peril of which the Norwegian Foreign Office, uneasy custodian of strategic Spitsbergen, is particularly cognizant.

There is one overwhelming reason for this. While the others are still casting but distant shadows over the area, one of the great powers—the Soviet Union—is actually and physically present in this nominally neutral region. On Spitsbergen, the Russians maintain a crucial industrial outpost based on three mines—at Barentsburg, Grumant City and the Pyramids. And the Soviet's holdings actually determine the strategic value of the whole archipelago. Of all the vast region, only the area around Isfjord is really available for the establishment of major air and, probably, submarine bases. From Cape Linné, at the westernmost entrance to Isfjord, to the Pyramids, at the easternmost end of the fjord, the Russians command the vital passages to the whole area.

Western newspapers have written a great deal about the danger of the Russians on "Spits." There have even been weird stories about their firing on all who venture into their vicinity. There are rumors of guided missiles to be launched from platforms now building on the mountain plateaus of Spitsbergen and aimed at the United States. I have myself heard a series of open charges that the Russian outposts are mere nuclei of huge military bases to come. I was told that the Russians on "the Spits" are not miners at all, but members of crack parachute regiments, whose task it will be to seize the whole island at the very outset of World War III.

There are, indeed, certain visible signs which seem to lend support to such charges. Until a few weeks ago when the long night precluded observation, Norwegian colliers could see large stores of drums all along the Russian piers at Barentsburg and Gruman. "Those drums," they tipped me off, "contain the fuel the Russians are hoarding for their war planes

No Cold War *continued*

and submarines which will be based here for missions against North America."

Others called my attention to massive and permanent Russian buildings. "They are key strongholds of a fortress network," they said as they pointed to photographs of the biggest Soviet building at Barentsburg —a long, two-story house with thick walls and small windows.

Other "evidence" cited by these observers was the inexplicably long delay in the resumption of coal mining by the Russians. "What are those Russians doing," they asked, "if not building military bases?"

If these accusations were only partly true, it would be evident that the Russians are certainly violating the 1920 treaty—if nothing more. But these charges were all made on the mainland. They were never raised on Spitsbergen. They were, in fact, denied not only by Alexei Vladimirovich Babad, Russian director, but even more emphatically by the Norwegian Governor, Haakon Balstad.

"I am in a position to state categorically," he declared, "that *as of this moment* the USSR is *not* violating existing arrangements—she is *not* turning her territories into military bases, is *not* maintaining garrisons of parachutists here, and is *not* hoarding fuel for future military operations.

"I have the right of inspection and control. On no occasion have the Russians denied to me entrance to their installations or tried to conceal any of their activities. Both myself and my mine inspectors are welcomed on our frequent inspection trips. Everything is thrown open for us to see and there is nothing—nothing at least here in Spitsbergen—that would even remotely resemble military preparations."

This Russian acquiescence in inspection and control by Norwegian authorities is regarded by Governor Balstad as a hopeful augury for future agreement to similar control in atomic fields. "Perhaps," the Governor remarked, "the United Nations should send up a commission to study our controls here, and the complete absence of malice and suspicion in their execution. They could learn a lot of practical value for international controls elsewhere."

All through the year, scores of Norwegians visit the Soviet installations—including Telegraph Commissioner Aslak Forberg, Trade Union President Kjartan Olsen, and many more, all of them experienced men who know Spitsbergen like the palm of their hand. They assured me that there are no "secrets" in the Russian zone, for if there were any, they would have certainly detected them.

Director Babad is shy and modest, but jovial and kindly, a genial host even to a journalist from the West whose motives he suspects. His "Little Soviet" on Spitsbergen has no iron curtain around it. The sturdy Russians in the comfortable leather chairs in his overheated little office may have been guards but they did not act like it.

Babad freely gave instructions to allow the widest latitude for photography. He himself acted as a guide to the outlying areas of his frozen domain, opening up everything including innumerable bottles of vodka during the feast celebrating the end of the tour.

He raised no objections whatever to Ollen's most inquisitive photographic activities and, indeed, himself posed his men, machines and of of his three horses in front of tha thick walled building which th grapevine said was a cornerstone c a new Russian fortification system and which turned out to be the com munity center containing the miner club and the world's northernmo movie theater.

Of the 2,500 inhabitants of Spit bergen, only 1,100 are Russians— and not 5,000 as I was told in Trom soe. All of them are volunteers, mos of them miners, 200 of them elit Stakhanovites from the Donbas. The are better than well paid. A to Stakhanovite miner or carpente makes as much as 7,000 rubles month on Spitsbergen, while Direc tor Babad is paid but 3,900 an Chief Engineer Grechin only 2,88 rubles. The monthly wage of th miners averages 2,500 rubles, where as the monthly average is less tha 1,000 rubles "back home."

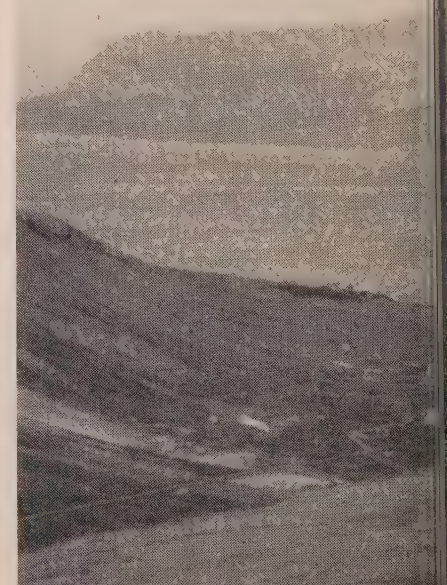
There are about 100 women i Barentsburg—most of them workers I have no doubt that their men an they represent a fair cross section o the Soviet peoples. They all seem agreed that East and West must ge along—and the sooner the better.

They on their own part aid thi

THE ONLY WAR TALK ON 'SPITS' ARE WEIRD ACCUSATIONS THAT ARISE ON THE MAINLAND OR REFER TO ACTION ELSEWHERE

STRATEGIC Isfjord area on Spitsbergen has three Soviet bases, room for more.

THE COAL MINE IS UP. GRUVE N



rapprochement by all human little means at their disposal.

When the Norwegian nurse Jenny Holste and six miners from Longyear went to Grumant to help in the celebration of May Day, they were loaded down with gifts, Russian delicacies including Crimean apricots, candy and—most precious of all—200 eggs.

A more recent Norwegian visit to "Little Soviet" yielded 75 pounds of bread, quantities of canned tomato juice, piles of currant buns, and more apricots from the Crimea—gifts supplied voluntarily from their rations by 200 miners.

The Norwegians reciprocate with services. When Consul Fedor Fetchin's comely little wife bore a baby at the Pyramids, Dr. Erik Here from Longyear assisted. When the Soviet steamer *Kirovograd* got caught in the pack-ice of Isfjord, the Norwegian icebreaker *Aasenfjord* helped the Russian icebreaker *Herkules* to extricate her.

But what of the Soviet's failure to resume coal mining despite the pressing need for it? What are the Russians doing on Spitsbergen? Director Babad had a ready and convincing answer.

"The Germans destroyed our installations very thoroughly," he said. "All port facilities, including the large cranes, were completely ruined. Our men returned here in 1946. All during the winter darkness they worked without electric light, unexploded German bombs and mines making work extremely hazardous.

"Now we are still pumping millions of cubic feet of water from the mines the Germans had flooded but will soon begin actual mining. The coal is of poor quality and has been further spoiled by the flooding. Coal we had left behind, about 400,000 tons, was set on fire by the *Tirpitz*. It is still burning. But by mixing the ashes with 15 per cent cement we make excellent bricks."

And how about those oil drums on the pier. Wasn't the *Kirovograd* full of them, exposing this "secret" to the men on the *Aasenfjord* who came to her rescue?

"It's Diesel oil," Babad explained, "which we need for our machines. Everything up here from the locomotive of the railway to the electric power station runs on oil. What little coal we mine we use to heat our houses. But next year," he added hopefully, "mining operations will start on a large-scale. There is no doubt that we'll soon reach and surpass our pre-war quota of 400,000 tons a year."

Director Babad is confident that no conflict will interfere with this schedule. He is confident despite a growing crop of red hot political gossip and rumor, spreading to both the Norwegian and Russian camps.

These are a fair sample of war-scare stories I picked up on the Spitsbergen grapevine.

1. They hear that the British are again showing interest in Spitsbergen. They have a "claim" south of Billefjord, not far from the Russians at the Pyramids. For decades they ignored it. But just a few months ago, a certain Captain Black, representing the dormant Scottish Spitsbergen Syndicate, reappeared on the scene, renewed the British claim and announced that British personnel would soon arrive. Why, the insiders ask, is Britain exhibiting such belated interest in her useless claim?

2. They hear that the Russians have an expedition on Prince Karl Island—a long, narrow strip of land, extending the whole length between 78° and 79° N., down to the very mouth of Isfjord. Are they looking for coal—or surveying it for a base?

3. They hear that the Russians have made a confidential offer to the Great Norwegian Spitsbergen Coal Company, offering to buy one of its mines, possibly the Svea mine at Bell-

Text continued on page 15

RWEGIAN MINE IS AN OPEN CUT IN THE MIDDLE OF A MOUNTAIN HIGH ABOVE THE MINING CITY, LONGYEAR

These Are the Norwegians

GOV. HAAKON BALSTAD with his wife and their son, Stein, first child born on Spits since war. An author, the governor is also a lay Lutheran preacher.

BRASS AT BAY. Dir. Boger of mines, left, and Capt. von Krogh in Finnish baths.

WEATHERMEN IN THE MIDST OF IT. Staff of the Isfjord radio and meteorological station. The men, all Norwegians, are from left: Hans Skogwold, telegrapher; Svein Bardal, steward;

HONORED EIGHT. The best workers—elite of the Stakhanovites on Spitsbergen—these men were selected by the Soviet director for UNW Photographer Ollen. He ordered them to spruce up for the camera, finally even directed their poses.

These Are the Russians

APPEAL OF THE ARCTIC is represented, at least inferentially, by these three young

TOP WORKER is this Kirghiz. Posing with him is director's secretary, Natasha

LABOR. These three sturdy workers are members of the force restoring Barentsburg productivity. Not just out-of-the-kitchen wives of workers, these women are Stakhanovites in their own right, skilled and competent, earning some 5000 rubles a month.

Brawn and Brains

MANAGEMENT. Director Alexei Vladimirovich Babad, left, confers with his assistant and translator, Chief Engineer Grechin. They chose the background—the customary Soviet arch with stars, hammer, sickle. The street lamp now burns 24 hours a day.

No Cold War *continued*

sund, at any price. The offer is said to have been rejected. Are the Russians going to take, islanders ask, what they cannot buy?

4. They hear that a large-scale expedition is now wintering in northern Greenland—the first since the war. Is this really a scientific expedition, or the advance guard of western penetration?

5. They hear Admiral Papanin has been purged from the Soviet Arctic Institute and replaced by an "activist" named Obruchev who eyes the North Pole for its military rather than scientific value. The leaders of the Norwegian Polar Institute complained to me that all postwar efforts to renew friendly relations with the Arctic Institute have failed since the removal of Papanin. Why, these islanders on Spitsbergen ask, is the USSR concealing with an iron curtain the current activities of its Arctic scientists and institutes?

I asked about the rumors at the Foreign Office when I returned to Oslo. These are the answers I received. 1. The British have merely renewed a claim that would have lapsed otherwise. 2 and 3. Russian expansion is confined to legitimate efforts to improve the output of coal which they vitally need to alleviate an acute shortage in the White Sea area. 4. The expedition in northern Greenland is manned by *bona fide* Danish scientists. 5. The domestic squabbles of Russia's Arctic Institute have no bearing on Arctic diplomacy.

Norwegian diplomats concede that the region as a whole has a remote strategic significance—but they believe that Spitsbergen's attraction to the military planner ends there. They are satisfied that, outside of coal and gypsum on West Spitsbergen and some lead on Bear Island, the archipelago has no strategic minerals in commercial quantities, and certainly no uranium.

The Norwegians have done everything in their power to live up to the letter and the spirit of the strict and explicit 1920 Treaty in which the Allied Supreme Council conferred the sovereignty of Spitsbergen on Norway.* I can attest that Spitsbergen is completely demilitarized, with arms and military installations thoroughly removed. The whole archipelago is wide open to scientific inquiries. The findings of the excellent Norwegian Polar Institute, its maps, charts, geological surveys, hydrographic and meteorological data are available to all, as are the daily weather reports of Chief Meteorologist Sigurd Thorgersen of Isfjord Radio.

And yet, the Norwegians are keeping their fingers crossed.

To the Russians, of course, Spitsbergen is a gaping hole in their carefully drawn security curtain—startlingly similar to the Dardanelles at the southernmost end of that long defense line. The similarity is empha-

*The 1920 Treaty ended Spitsbergen's centuries-long status as *terra nullius*. Under it the rights and territories of other nationals are safeguarded.

Farewell to Spitsbergen

ERIK NIELSEN, right, going home with his savings, drinks an unplanned toast to Spits. Nielsen had contraband—an unopened bottle of whisky—in his luggage. On instructions from the customs officer, center, he broke the seal and drank a sip.

No Cold War *continued*

sized in the identical treatment the two areas receive at the hands of the Kremlin. Even as Turkey was approached by Moscow in 1945 to consent to joint Russo-Turkish defense of the Dardanelles, Norway was asked in 1944 to agree to the establishment of joint Russo-Norwegian defenses in Spitsbergen.

Turkey exploded the overtures by publicizing them at once, but Norway dealt with them secretly. After all, the war was still on, Norway and Russia were allies, both interested in keeping open the Murmansk sea route. In the end, nevertheless, Norway invoked the 1920 Treaty that prohibits the maintenance of military establishments on the archipelago and thereafter sent home the garrison she had established there.

But Oslo indulges in no illusions. There are, in fact, alarming signs that the questions of Spitsbergen might be reopened any minute—especially if the West appears to Moscow to be pushing too far east into the Arctic.

For the time being, however, armed forces of the two major contestants for Arctic supremacy remain about 3,500 miles apart: the US around Argentia in Newfoundland, practicing landing operations from the Atlantic Fleet; the USSR around Novaya Zemlya, with a fleet of ice-breakers, Arctic-trained airmen, and all the paraphernalia of polar penetration. But it is taken for granted in Oslo that an overt or covert western appeal to Denmark for bases on Greenland will be promptly followed by an energetic Soviet demand for the "joint defense" of Spitsbergen.

The Norwegian Foreign Office, keenly aware of the potential dangers inherent in her precarious Arctic position, is more than anxious to safeguard the peace in her area with more effective means than merely an outdated treaty and the system of neutrality.

"We have proved to the world," a spokesman of the Norwegian Foreign Office told me, "that the demilitarization and neutralization of a crucial strategic area can be accomplished even in a time of worldwide tension. Spitsbergen is, indeed, a shining example of the adherence to treaties by all concerned, of Soviet bloc-Western bloc co-operation, of pacific intentions practically implemented.

"But Spitsbergen alone can bring about no miracle. Unless peace is somehow assured, the area will sooner or later succumb to the aspirations of those who have designs on it as a staging post on their way to greater conquests.

"There is, however, a solution, a solution as simple as it is far reaching. *It is simply the total neutralization and demilitarization of the whole Arctic Ocean region, declaring it out of bounds to the armies and ships and warplanes of all powers.*

"If it is true what military experts like General Spaatz say that all roads to a new war lead across the Arctic, this step might deal a death blow to war itself, denying to it the main avenue on its course.

"The neutralization and demilitarization of the *whole* Arctic represents what we regard as the noblest task of the United Nations—a challenge which it cannot ignore, since, we believe, sooner or later it will have to be met and solved if the world is allowed to remain at peace."

This is the voice of the distant mainland. Spitsbergen speaks a different language. Governor Balstad of Norway and Director Babad of the USSR, representing West and Ea on this strategic outpost, view t problem with the realism of men wl are, in the truest sense, on the sp

They realize that the fate of Spit bergen, and the Arctic, will not l decided by the friendly neighbo who live there. They know that th decisions made in the Kremlin ar Pentagon, at 10 Downing Street ar on the Quai D'Orsay take little co cern of a few thousand miners, tra pers, hunters, social workers, telegr phers, meteorologists, geologist bricklayers. They know what the risk.

From their radios they hear th violent speeches of the diplomats i Paris. When they go to the Norw gian movie in Longyear, they ar treated to a cheap Hollywood fil called *China* in which glamorou Loretta Young inanely lauds Chian Kai-shek. When they go to th "Klub" in Russian Barentsburg, the see an elaborate propaganda pictur concocted of the life of Admira Nachimov, a hero of Czarist im perialism.

But when the radios are switche off and the movie houses go dark these men go on liking each othe respecting each other, understandin each other. This is the miracle o Spitsbergen, which bans the cold wa from that frigid, strategic island.

ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION—RUSSO-NORWEGIAN RADIO AT ISFJORD

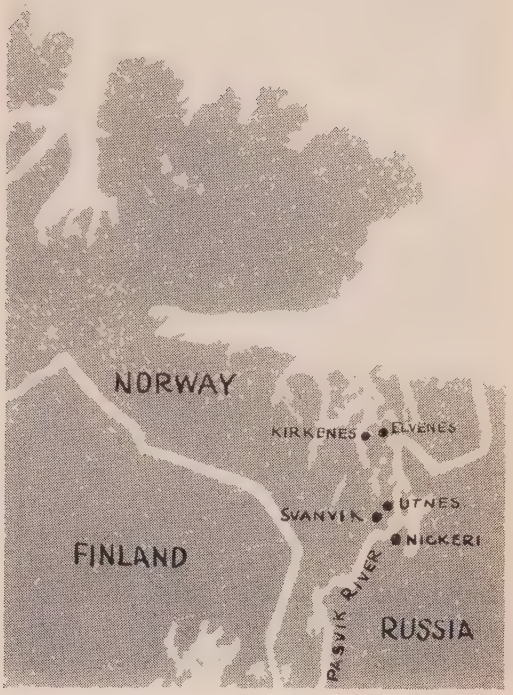
The World's Most Strategic Radio Station

Arctic Scoop No. 2

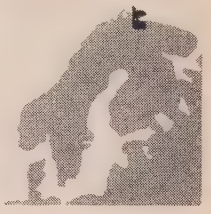
UNW'S SENIOR EDITOR
LADISLAS FARAGO REPORTS
FROM NORWAY—

What Lies Behind

The Transparent Iron Curtain



A JIGSAW map of the Arctic area in which Russia is building a secret city. The section here is shown in black on map at right.



FROM HILL 96 IN NORWAY

IN THE BRIGHT, SHORT DAY

OR LONG DARK NIGHT, ONE CAN SEE

BEYOND THE CURTAIN BUT NOT PASS THROUGH

KIRKENES—I have just seen one of the Soviet Union's most important secret cities. I have seen it in amazing detail, through powerful binoculars on a raw, sparkling Arctic midday. To the puzzled Norwegians on their side of this frozen frontier, it is one of Russia's many Bezimyankas—a Nameless City. They still refer to it as Salmijaervi, the name of a tiny Finnish village that used to stand on its site just four years ago. But on confidential Soviet maps, marking the network of the new industrial cities of Russia's post-war reconstruction program, the "nameless city" is called Kolosjoki Nickeri.

This new Arctic city's own inhabitants call it Nickeri for short, after the high-grade nickel that is its reason for being. It was the lure of nickel that brought Soviet troops to this drowsy Finnish countryside, that caused the Kremlin to demand its transfer to Soviet sovereignty, and which now helps to build an Arctic boomtown while the rest of the annexed region is rapidly and energetically depopulated.

I saw Nickeri, exposed in surprising detail, from the top of a hill near Svanvik, a frontier village in northernmost Norway. Until 1939, this hill too, was nameless. But then it became the chief observation post for the Norwegian Neutrality Watch during the first Russo-Finnish war and was, in unimaginative military fashion, given the name *96-höyden*, or Hill 96. With prophetic resignation, Svanvik's peaceful civilians adopted the name and today, in the Arctic twilight of recent events, it sounds singularly appropriate.

There used to be a lookout tower on the hill, and tourists came in flocks to enjoy the unique scenery of the Pasvik River valley and to watch Finnish timber floating to the saw mill at Elvenes in Norway, one of the biggest and busiest in Europe.

That was less than a decade ago. Today it is a different attraction that brings tourists to Hill 96—and a different kind of tourist, too. The lookout tower is no longer there. The Germans, also, used it as an observation post, then destroyed it on the eve of their departure. The charming frontier river valley is frozen, dead. It is also depopulated, paralyzed, inert. For years no timber has floated down the Pasvik from Finland. The great Elvenes sawmill is a heap of charred ruins. There is no point in rebuilding it with the timber supply cut off.

Down in Svanvik on the Norwegian side, sits Customs Chief Melwik watching the influx of the new tourists with equanimity. His job is a puzzling sinecure. Trade is as dead as the border over which he still watches. But he charges no toll on the view from Hill 96, however rewarding it might be.

From the Soviet point of view, this is a sort of smuggling operation but they apparently plan no action to stop the Norwegian traffic in views of Nickeri. As a matter of fact—short of putting the mine town underground—there is not much they can do to hide or camouflage their activity.

In good weather one can see as far as 60 miles into the USSR. The eyes follow the famous Arctic Ocean Road from Pitjakaervi through Nickeri to the ocean at Petsamo, then meandering eastward as it disappears beyond the horizon on its way to Murmansk. But one need not strain his eyes to

What Lies Behind The Transparen

THE CONTRABAND VIEW
IS A SECRET CITY WHERE
FROM A FORMER FINNISH MINE
HURRIED AND FEARFUL RUSSIANS
ARE EXTRACTING NICKEL
THAT BOTH THEIR
CIVILIAN ECONOMY
AND WAR MACHINE REQUIRE

A SOVIET ARCTIC MINING TOWN, KURISVUMTSHORR, NEAR MURMANS

see Nickeri. It lies immediately across the border, just where the world's best nickel lies—and is *the* view that made Hill 96.

Here, almost within arm's reach, are rows of modern houses, the snaky line of new roads, a whole amazing town complete with smokestacks, movies and maternity wards.

I remained on the Hill well after noontime, until the northern night descended. To the northwest, the yellow light of a few Norwegian villages flickered timidly. The street lamps of Kirkenes glittered in an uncertain glow, illuminating a few ships in port and the big iron-ore plant on an elongated hill. Otherwise there was unbroken darkness on both sides of the border.

Then, suddenly, like a great electric torch switched on by an unseen hand, a city became visible as if carved out of tangible darkness.

"Nickeri!" my companion exclaimed. Only now, when everything else was erased, could we fully assess the startling extent, growth and industry of this secret city. The lights, so yellow and sheepish on the Norwegian side, shone brightly in broad white beams at Nickeri. Huge searchlights formed spectral circles around buildings on which work would continue throughout the night. A seemingly endless row of more powerful searchlights, stretching far beyond the city limits, revealed work on a new road or, perhaps, improvements on the old that was mined and bombed innumerable times between 1939 and 1945 as the boots of Russian, Finnish and German soldiers trampled over it.

I could easily distinguish the headlights of rumbling trucks, and the contours of more houses. Electric signs revealed several movies and an auditorium. Rows of lighted windows above each other marked taller structures—administration buildings, schools, hospitals.

The mines and industrial installations were nakedly exposed in the glare of the most powerful searchlights. At three points on the outskirts of the city, searchlights fenced in—with lanes of light—squares in which were ranked long rows of low barracks. The lights also made distinctly visible regularly spaced watchtowers. It was the first hint I had got that Nickeri was an enforced labor camp.

ron Curtain

FROM TERRACES BEHIND THE TOWN COMES APATITE, MINERAL FERTILIZER

A 25-MILLION-DOLLAR HOLE IN THE GROUND

The town that seemed deserted during ing the day, came alive at night. Its streets were crowded. Those clots of dark humanity before the lighted windows were empire builders, direct spiritual descendants of a long line leading back through Hitler's greedy satraps to a group of enterprising Canadian financiers. The men in the Kremlin who direct the building of Nickeri are determined to stay. Their city is built of concrete and frame.

"Is anything more intimately known about this Nickeri?" I asked my companion whose unenviable job is to be the best-informed man in the whole of Finnmark.

"Quite a bit," he answered. "The Allies got very good aerial shots—during the war, of course. But then it was nothing like it is today. The Russians already had the place in 1939, then destroyed everything when they withdrew. The Germans, when they came, found a skeleton mining village. Their effort to rebuild didn't get very far. Then in '44 the Russians came back, this time for good. First they shipped out all the Finns, except a few trustworthy Communists. Then they brought in that branch of the NKVD which is in charge of exploiting this kind of mining properties. Then came the engineers, the builders, the miners—and finally those lights you see.

"The Russians now own the mines. The Canadians are out. But there was no expropriation. It was a 25-million-dollar deal—in cash—and the Canadians were quite happy to unload. And now there is a special Five Year Plan for Nickeri. The city must be all finished by 1950—a year before the regular Five Year Plan matures.

SYDVARANGA MINE AT KIRKENES, PRODUCES IRON AND MANGANESE

Transparent Iron Curtain *continued*

I have no doubt that Nickeri will make the grade and even exceed its quota — if nothing interferes, of course."

"What's the population of Nickeri?" I asked.

"Oh, it's a veritable metropolis—at least by Arctic standards. There are about 8,000 people living over there. Pretty good, for a city up here that is really only 3 years old and 634 miles north of the Arctic Circle."

"Who are those people?" I asked. "Where did they come from?"

"We really don't know for certain," my companion answered. "In all these years since 1944, Chief Melwik down in his elaborate Customs House at Svanvik has never been bothered by a single traveler trying to cross into Norway or vice versa."

Later that night in Kirkenes I found that his statement was not quite correct. There was at least one East-West traveler. Last summer, three young Norwegians picnicking on the Pasvik near Elvenes had come upon a wretched man, walking in apparent daze toward the town. They accosted him, somewhat reluctantly, since he looked demented and was wearing what they thought was the uniform of a mental institution. He looked emaciated, his eyes were bloodshot, he wore a scraggly beard on bony cheeks. Obviously he needed help.

He surrendered meekly when the three young men stopped him. When he was brought to Kirkenes and given a good meal, it turned out that he was a Russian—from Nickeri. He then told his whole story—no secrets, just his own personal tale.

POSTGRADUATE COURSE IN A WORK CAMP

He was in the Red Army when the Russo-German war broke out in 1941. Captured on the Kiev front, he was taken to a camp in Mecklenburg and kept there throughout the war. By a miracle he survived the starvation and torture and was liberated and sent back to his home village.

There his battered German prisoner-of-war garb made him fair game for the NKVD dragnet, reaching out for all former Red Army men who had spent the war in Nazi camps. He was "enlisted" for re-indoctrination and sent to Nickeri. He was still wearing the German fatigue uniform of a POW, and had eight more years to go, when he was found wandering aimlessly on the Norwegian side of the frontier.

A Norwegian iron curtain shields this case in Kirkenes. No one likes to talk about the fugitive from Nickeri. The explanation, when it came, impressed me as pathetic. It seems this man is on the conscience of Kirkenes.

"The Russians found out about him," I was told at last. "They have their informers here, and it didn't take long. They sent over a demand for his immediate extradition. At first we balked, but then instructions came from Oslo and back he went, crying like a child all the way. Poor chap. We were really sorry for him."

I asked my guide about this incident. He made light of it. "Oh such things happen in a frontier region. As a matter of fact, this isn't quite a one-way street. Once in a while a Norwegian, too, may lose his way between the markers. Perhaps he may try to retrieve his cow that strayed to forbidden pastures. Children, too, have lost their way. Especially in the beginning, we used to regard this frontier as no frontier at all as it was when the Finns were our neighbors. Quite a number of Norwegians have found adventure simply by being a few yards beyond the border."

"What happens then?" I inquired.

"Well," he answered with just a slight touch of sarcasm, "man or cow or child, it doesn't matter. They are all arrested—captured, taken prisoner, call it whatever you like."

"By whom?" I asked. I had not seen a soul on the other side of the border the whole day.

My companion chuckled. "There are plenty of *them*, actually thousands, in those low hills and bushy woods. Judging by the insignia of their officers, they belong to the frontier detachments of the NKVD, although they look and dress like soldiers. They carry sub-machine guns, a Russian version of the German Schmeisser. They have orders to be invisible and they *are* invisible, somewhat in the manner of those highway cops in the States who ambush motorists by lurking behind billboards and around curves.

"The people they catch are taken to Petsamo or to Murmansk, blindfolded and in cars with the blinds drawn all the way. After a while they are released. Sometimes it takes only a fortnight. One man from Björnevatn was returned in 11 days, that's the record. But there are cases which took five weeks and required negotiations on higher echelons."

In Utnes a few days later I talked to a boy who was thus caught and taken all the way to Murmansk. A

right-eyed lad of 13, he recalled the ncident with a complacent, conde-cending smile, talking about his cap-ors with the understanding tolerance hat is these people's general attitude oward their Russian neighbors.

Utnes is on the left bank of the 'asvik, in Norway. The boy had a owboat of his own, a precious pos-ession that he cherished above any-hing else. One morning not long ago, luring a freak storm that blew in rom Langfjord, the boat drifted cross the river to a nameless little sland. It wasn't too far and the boy isked a swim through the icy water to ecover the boat.

He felt perfectly safe. Not a soul vas ever seen on the island, not until his particular day. As the boy eached his boat and was about to ow it back to Utnes suddenly, out f nowhere, not one but five Russian guards appeared, their sub-machine guns trained on him.

No questions were asked. The boy vas taken to Nickeri, then to Pet-amo, eventually to Murmansk, blind-olded all the way. He was scared. His guards were grim and hardly ever spoke on the long journeys in the closed car. Their conduct indi-cated that in their eyes, child or no child, he was a spy.

In Murmansk he was brought be-fore an MVD major who subjected him to a protracted interrogation. It followed the pattern of wartime pris-oner interrogations, the major asking such questions as "What's the name and rank of the commanding officer at Kirkenes?" and "Are there road blocks between Elvenes and Jar-fjord?"

THE RUSSIANS EXPECT TO FIND ENEMIES EVERYWHERE

The boy was bewildered at first, but then, with the adult sense of hu-mor that is characteristic of his peo-ple, he took the major for a ride. He began to spout military informa-tion—erupting all kind of data until his imagination was exhausted. In his description the whole area was bris-tling with guns and machine-gun nests, tank traps and hidden airfields. When he "disclosed" the presence of an Anglo-American division at Lak-selv, he was given his first square meal in days—a sort of beef Strogo-noff made of whale meat.

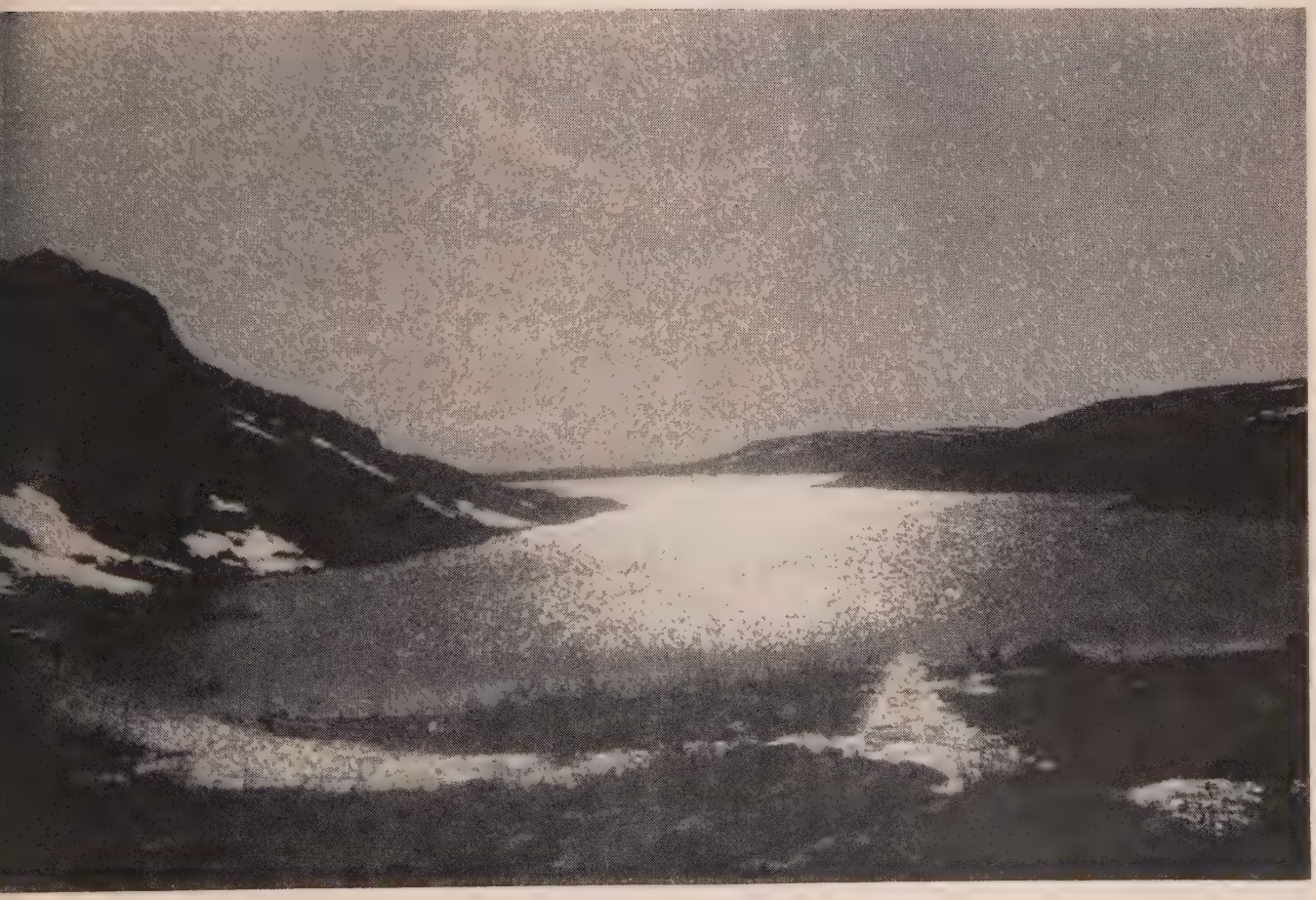
When I listened to this story, I thought it was a joke or a figment of the boy's imagination. But no, I found that the procedure had been repeated many times, with adults, adolescents, as well as with mere boys, their interrogations following an identical pattern.

The boy was in Murmansk for 13 days. In the meantime the wheels of the frontier's tedious bureaucracy began to grind and, eventually, re-turned him to his parents waiting at the border in the company of an un-armed Norwegian frontier policeman.

He was one of the very few out-siders who has ever been to Nickeri. I asked him to describe the town, and he shot a glance at me as if marvel-ling at my naivete. "But, sir," he said politely, "they never took the blind-fold off my eyes outdoors. As far as I am concerned Nickeri is a room in NKVD headquarters where they kept me overnight."

One can see more, perhaps, from Hill 96.

PART OF THIS RUSSO-NORWEGIAN BORDER IS THIS ESTUARY OF LANGFJORD AT THE MOUTH OF THE PASVIK



Transparent Iron Curtain

On The Russian Border

IT MEANS NOT PEACE BUT CONFLICT

NOT TRUCE BUT TRUCULENCE

WHETHER THE CAUSE OF ITS HOISTING

IS AN ESTRAYED GOAT OR A NEW AND MORE

EMPHATIC REFUSAL OF MOSCOW TO BUILD A HUT

When the White Flag Flies

ELVENES: This is a relatively short border, not more than 100 miles long. Despite the tension, it is exceptionally easy to guard, for only a few people live on its Norwegian side and virtually none on the Russian, if the people of the boomtown Nickeri are not counted.

When these Norwegian frontier-people saw their borderland wither and die, they moved away one after another, abandoning villages like Pasvik, Valen and Kobfoss, once prosperous settlements in friendly exchange with the Finns on the other side of the border. Those who remain, and they are but a few hundred, are toughened people, taciturn, disciplined, moulded by the arctic climate and the frigid gray sea.

The frontier begins the usual three miles out in the Arctic Ocean, then runs in a whimsical curve from Grense Jakobselv to Elvenes, then south again to Nautsjoki and the Finnish border. Geographically speaking, Norway seems to overextend herself at this spot. If viewed on a mischievous map, the Norwegian border-zone looks like a tongue pertly stuck out at Russia.

Norway maintains the fiction of a conventional frontier, with a string of customs houses and customs guards who wait for travelers that never come. Before the war these were busy frontier crossings, with thousands o people moving in both directions No passes were then required an customs inspection was mere for mality. Nothing of the traffic remains This is now the dead end street o the western Arctic.

There is but one spot where Eas and West *do* meet—with odd pom and peculiar circumstance. It is point just beyond Elvenes where road forks gropingly in two direc tions. One of its branches goes north eastward to Jarfjordbjotn, a Nor wegian village at the head of a fjor bearing the same name. Its othe branch turns southeast, past a roa sign that points to *Russland*—th Soviet Union—and the No Man' Land of the border.

At the Norwegian edge of the bor derstrip is a crude, rather amateuris

NOBODY TAKES THE RIGHT FORK

This is the road sign that stands a few hundred yards from the Russo-Norwegian border near Elvenes. The farm in the background is one of very few left standing when the Germans laid waste to Finnmark when World War II was nearing its end.

oad block, barbed wire haphazardly ound around its frame. A yellow gn warns that beyond lies a pro- ibited military zone. But there are o soldiers or guards to enforce the rohibition. Ten soldiers assigned to uard this road block play cards and leep away the time in their barracks few hundred yards away. There is o need for vigilance.

About 100 yards inside No Man's and, there stands a whitewashed agpole with a yellow guard house t its base. It is one of two, the other tanding on the Russian half of No Man's Land where far more elaborate nstallations bar entry into the Soviet Union. But the poles themselves are dentical in every respect, including heir peeling coats of whitewash.

These two flagpoles are, so to peak, devices by which occasionally nd for brief periods the iron curtain s raised. They are major means of ommunication between the Kingdom f Norway and the Union of Soviet ocialist Republics, here represented y two pedantic lieutenant colonels.

The poles are usually "empty" and he area around them deserted. But wice a week, on Tuesdays and Fri- lays for a few fleeting minutes, groups of uniformed figures appear t both ends of *Ingenmannesland*— s the Norwegians call this interna- ional vacuum. They can be seen urning their eyes skyward as if in rayer. In fact, they are merely look- ng for The White Flag. If no white lag flutters from either pole, all is quiet on this arctic front. But when white flag appears on either one of he poles, it signalizes trouble, usual- y slight, but trouble nevertheless.

Hoisting the white flag simply neans that one of the two lieutenant olonels desires an interview with his pposite number. Next day, Wednes- lay or Saturday, exactly at noon East nd West meet in formal conference, small group of earnest men looking s if they were seconding a duel or ttending a state funeral.

It is all very formal. Uniformed n their Sunday best, accompanied by ullen guards of equal numbers, anks and armaments, Lieutenant olonel Magnus of the Royal Nor- vegian Army advances approximately 50 yards to meet a lieutenant colonel f the Red Army at what is supposed o be the exact geographical center f No Man's Land.

The Russians make a simultaneous and identical advance, never taking the initiative. Indeed the Russian colonel is obviously denied the initiative by his own government. Although he has been at this frontier outpost for more than two years by now, he is not known ever to have made a decision of his own. When he is the hoister of the flag, it is upon instructions from Moscow. When the flag summons him to this rendezvous he pleads for time so that he may refer the matter to Moscow.

Many a time the flags are hoisted before an answer from Moscow arrives at this godforsaken spot. Certain matters taken up way back in 1946 are still in what Colonel Magnus calls "the pending category," requiring an occasional frustrated hoisting of the flag to inquire about their status. When answers arrive, as they sooner or later usually do, the Russian colonel is never tardy to wave the good news across the No Man's Land by quickly hoisting his flag and then, next day, wearing a faint smile to the rendezvous.

"As a matter of fact," the Norwegian colonel concedes, "he is a very decent chap, a reasonable fellow." And he adds with a sigh: "If only Moscow would leave him alone!"

There is considerable saluting, bowing, hand shaking and heel clicking when East and West thus meet. Matters discussed are minor. Since neither of the colonels speaks the other's tongue, the meetings require interpretation. Both sides bring their own interpreters, but it may be indicative of the spirit in which these meetings are held that the interpreter of the Norwegian colonel is a prominent member of the Norwegian Communist Party, while the Russian interpreter is no party member.

These meetings have been going on for just about three years now, rain or snow, shine or gale. Colonel Magnus is no chocolate soldier. He is a weather-beaten veteran of the war, a pioneer of the arctic campaign. He has carried on this polar protocol with infinite tact, diplomacy, dignity —even gusto. But he dislikes standing in sub-zero weather. When Magnus realized that there would be no great intimacy in his contact with his Russian colleague and that these open-air confabs would continue indefinitely, he suggested a few improvements.

At first, he suggested that a short and private telephone line be installed to replace the ludicrous flag ceremony. The suggestion was referred to Moscow. In due (or rather overdue) course, the answer arrived. It was a polite but firm "No!"

Then, reconciled to the flagpole ritual, the Norwegian proposed that meetings be held in his office. "No!" In the Russian's office, maybe? "No!" How about a hut in the middle of the border strip, a log cabin, anything that might provide shelter and protection against the weather?

The Russian referred this last suggestion to Moscow. He himself regarded it as quite sensible, especially when, having hoisted his flag to inquire about additional details, he was assured that Norway would gladly bear the expenses of building and maintaining the shelter.

The answer was unusually long in coming. But when it finally arrived, just a few weeks ago, it was the firmest "No" to date. Moreover, the Russian asked his Norwegian colleague not to embarrass him with further suggestions.

So the flags still go up and the colonels go out, clicking heels and exchanging meaningless courtesies. They stand under the angry northern sky, wrapped in assorted sheepskins. Shouting over the gale they discuss the "inexplicable violation of Marker Number 107 by unknown vandals of non-Soviet nationality" or "the early release of one goat belonging to Lars Larsen and now believed to be in Soviet custody."

Under the starless night of this arctic noon, Colonel Magnus, as is his custom, offers a cigaret to his Russian colleague, his aide lighting it politely—a pair of red specks cutting the noon darkness, glowing like fireflies, lighting up the rosy noses of the stamping men, and the smoke of the cigarets fades into the fog and dusk.

Two tiny red spots of burning cigarets with occasional flashes from lighters—that's all that remains of the flashes and flames of the war which raged here in wanton fury for five long years. Will it flash and flame up again? This question has never been openly asked at Elvenes, but it is always there. It is the one question to which no sure answer can yet be given. The matter is in the pending category, as Colonel Magnus would say.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE ON A BUCOLIC AFTERNOON IN NEW ENGLAND

A famous British correspondent recalls

The Dear Dead Days

of Coolidge's isolation

THE WARM AND DROWSY DAYS WHEN WILSON WAS NEWLY DEAD HAVE BECOME THE WORRIED DAYS OF A NEW TWO-WORLD INTERNATIONALISM

BY R. J. CRUIKSHANK

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WHEN I first went to Washington, Calvin Coolidge was President. How deliciously warm and drowsy were those early summer days in Washington. There was even a pretty legend that Mr. Coolidge used to close the door of his study after lunch and gently nod to sleep over papers that could be signed just as well next week or next month. Those were the years of the long American idyll.

Sitting in Lafayette Square on those sleepy afternoons of long ago, soothed by the cooing of the pigeons, and watching the graceful pillars of the White House through the shimmer of heat, one speculated about the Siesta of a President. He was the last President of America's Age of Innocence. And this was the last siesta of a pastoral world.

Mr. Coolidge would surely be dreaming about the cool green mountains of Vermont—"Keep Cool wi Cal" had always been a grand lir The sylvan simplicities and the hom spun virtues of the men and wom who had escaped from Europe's co ruptions were incarnate in him—c at least, so the propagandists of th Party said.

One would be certain, too, that any harsh voices from the realm politics ever troubled the golde slumbers of the President they wou be changed by the alchemy of dream into his own cherished phrases. "Th business of the United States is business." And, "Less Government business, more business in Gover ment." Foreign Policy? How coul it be put more expressively than his own renowned comment on th British War Debt, "They hired th money, didn't they?"

Europe was unimportant but tir some—like the families that lived o the other side of railroad tracks. M Hearst's pet cartoonist used to dra daily (at least, it *seemed* daily) string of little ragamuffins beggin alms from kindly old Uncle San These urchins were labeled, in charm ing taste, "the small busted nations That was Europe! The squalid deb controversy bedevilled everything.

Woodrow Wilson had been dea some four years. His visions had die with him, apparently, leaving not trace behind. His party denied thei greatest leader. They would soone win elections than keep their ideal They lost both. The United State as a power in the world disappeare behind an Isolation that was like th Great Wall of China. Every politicia penitentially recited George Wash ington's warning against "entanglin alliances" in a loud voice to impres the electors.

At nearly all the universities, co leges and high schools the youn were being taught that the worst mi take the United States ever made wa to take part in the First World Wa and that it had been tricked into th by that subtlest of serpents, the Bri ish propagandist. Never before c since have I known the academi breed to be so much of one mind o any subject.

There were in those days three pi lars of American foreign policy—th Monroe Doctrine, the Open Door i China and complete isolation fro that fascinating, dangerous and di reputable character: Europe. All ni American mothers warned their so

gainst *that* harpy. But, in the Vanity Fair of Europe where French depravity was matched with British guile, there was one virtuous exception to be found—the German.

It wasn't realized on this [the English] side of the Atlantic 20 years ago how deeply German culture had influenced the American intellectuals outside the Eastern and Pacific seaboards. The fundamental thing about any civilization is the philosophy to which it subscribes. Most of the school teachers in America in the twenties and thirties were Hegelians, entranced by the dialectic of history. They were repelled by the bright, brittle Cartesianism of the French, and they found the dreamy neo-Platonism of the British quite effete and inapplicable in a technological world. Thesis—Antithesis—Synthesis. That was the recipe for a fine, sturdy pioneer community which meant to stand on its own feet.

One figure that took shape from the summer afternoon dreams of President Coolidge was a tiny, silver-haired lawyer from Minnesota whom he made Secretary of State—Mr. Frank B. Kellogg. I recall the slick, irreverent young Washington correspondents calling this grandfatherly character Nervous Nellie because of the extreme flutter into which he was thrown by any question suggesting the United States might have any view or any policy about Europe.

While it was true that Mr. Kellogg usually behaved like a clergyman's aunt forced to travel by a workman's early morning train, he was essentially a *good* man, and like most good men in America of his day, he had a sense of guilt. He sought to assuage it by a frantic activity on behalf of Briand's idea of outlawing war.

Who now remembers the Kellogg-Briand Pact through which the nations pledged themselves never to fight to settle their differences? It was signed in April, 1928. I recall sitting through the debate in the Senate on the ratification of this Pact. The debate was accompanied by bursts of scornful laughter. One Senator, in declaring that he would vote for the Pact, said jocosely, "This is a barricade of hymn books against howitzers."

The general mood was that these doomed and damned Europeans would go on fighting until they exterminated each other, but that America was now gloriously above all battles, and could never be harmed or touched again. America was in a Spenserian mood. She had found "the inn of tranquillity," and she was "wrapped in eternal silence far from enemies."

STALIN, TRUMAN AND CHURCHILL AT POTSDAM—FAR, FAR FROM VERMONT

If I dwell upon those bygone days, it is to mark the overwhelming character of the change. There seldom has been in human history a revolution in basic national ideas so complete as that which has taken place in the United States in our time. I doubt if we on this side of the Atlantic have ever realized how tremendous was that transformation.

It is an impressive thing to see the dominant philosophy of a nation change under the stress of events. Living in the United States during the thirties, I first detected the signs of transformation, not among the politicians, but among ordinary thoughtful people, school teachers, small businessmen, intelligent clubwomen, who read the papers and listened to the radio. The work of a remarkable group of US foreign correspondents and broadcasters had a profound influence on public opinion. The rise of Hitler—the Spanish tragedy—the rape of Ethiopia—these events were reported with a wealth of significant detail.

This was a period when the leadership of opinion on foreign affairs passed out of the hands of the politicians and the pundits and was taken over by a group of inspired reporters and commentators, among whom such names as Raymond Swing, Dorothy Thompson, Vincent Sheean, Walter Lippmann, Raymond Clapper, Edgar Mowrer, William Shirer, George Fielding Eliot became well-known on this side as well. It was extraordinary to see the nation which had been so indifferent to news from Europe now responding to every quiver of the web. There was never a time in the history of the Republic when opinion was better informed.

Professional historians and the university lecturers are usually contemptuous of mere journalists, so I don't suppose these characters will receive much credit in the official records. But it is my judgment, as an amateur observer, that these hot gospelers of press and radio did more than any other group to change the outlook of the American people. They were eloquent, vehement, astonishingly ubiquitous, and they influenced an audience of many millions.

It was around 1935 that the American people began to comprehend how deeply implicated they were—emotionally, at the very least—in European affairs. They became conscious that there was a powerful thrust in the world against those principles of liberty of thought and free

The Dear Dead Days *continued*

government which were as natural to them as the air they breathed. The persecution of the Jews, the burning of the books, the extinction of civil freedoms in Germany shocked a public that had for so many years entertained sentimental feelings about the Germans.

The interaction of this public opinion on government in formulating a foreign policy was fascinating to watch: to a Briton it had a painful, heart-in-the-mouth interest.

Wendell Willkie once said to me that Franklin Roosevelt would never rank as one of the great American Presidents because he would never move a foot in front of public opinion. Roosevelt, said Willkie, was a brilliant diviner of the mass mind, but he would not perform the act of leadership until he was quite sure of the direction in which it was moving.

Willkie, the gifted amateur who was never to hold office in his life, did not understand how hard it is to square the feasible with the desirable in politics. Roosevelt was determined not to risk the disaster which had overwhelmed his old master, Woodrow Wilson. In leading the United States towards interventionism, Mr. Roosevelt displayed a matchless skill. One side accused him of base cunning and duplicity, the other of a craven timidity—but he knew his people. And there never had been such a master of the pure arts of politics and human government.

Nor were those arts ever exercised in a greater cause. The President rejoiced in the interventionist fervor stirred up by that host of writers, broadcasters and lecturers to whom I have referred, and he turned it ingeniously to his purpose. His speeches during 1938, 1939 and 1940 represented the best example given since Lincoln of a President using his office to educate a great democracy.

Despite Willkie's criticism, there were occasions when Mr. Roosevelt *did* deliberately go further than the mass mind would follow, as in the "quarantine the aggressor" speech at Chicago. And, at other times, as in the Destroyer-Bases deal, he needed a great deal of prodding and pushing from his friends behind the scenes.

Generally during those years, when the fate of the human race was being resolved, Mr. Roosevelt placed the issues before his people in such terms that there could be no doubt of their answer.

He made them aware, before Pearl Harbor, that the battle of Europe was their battle. He aroused a passionate emotion in defense of democratic institutions, and, on the other side, he made America realize the immediacy of its physical peril. I recall the thrilling effect of a broadcast of his which was really a lesson in map reading. The strong technological sense of the average American made him realize that modern science had destroyed the idyllic safety of isolation. His teeming cities were within striking distance of a European aggressor.

It was Roosevelt's marvelous work of education combined with the pressure of informed opinion that made possible the passage through Congress of Lend-Lease, "the most unsordid act in human history," but an act inconceivable a year or two earlier.

The attack on Pearl Harbor confirmed the nightmare dread of vulnerability which had been growing during three years. In 1917, the United States had been seized by a war fever, and in less than two years it had undergone the sharpest reversal of sentiment. Knowing how deeply isolationism had been rooted in the geography, philosophy and folkways of the American people, there were many observers who thought that this might happen again. The outrage of Pearl Harbor would be avenged, America would annihilate her enemies, and then go back into her tent.

But there was this difference. The First World War was an aberration from the American tradition. The Second World War ratified the gnawing, nagging doubts of the validity of that tradition. Beginning in 1942, it was in the old Middle Western strongholds of isolation that the Isolationists received their most sensational defeats.

If you live in the heart of the wheatlands, companioned by the two elementals, the soil and the sky, the rest of the world seems awfully unreal and far away. Yet the farming states in 1942, '44 and '46 showed by their electoral choices a surprising resolution to take their place in t world. The very embodiment of t intervention of the Prairie is th most internationalist of all Americ political leaders, Harold Stassen.

As the years pass, we are begi ning to understand that Mr. Roos velt's bi-partisan foreign policy is legacy of priceless and enduri value. At San Francisco in 1945 t Republican leaders were associat with the Democrats in setting up t United Nations Organization, and t ghosts of Senator Lodge and Senat Borah, the destroyers of the Leagu were laid at last. The bi-partisan po icy has been loyally supported b both parties. That is an extraordina change after a century in which fo eign relations has been the footba of the parties.

Stalin has no doubt clinched a pro ess of thought that Hitler bega Alarm, worry and anger about t Russians has brought a crystalliz tion of emotion unheard of before peacetime America. If Moscow ha shown a little more guile and sub tlety, and a little better understandi of the character of the America people, there might have been by no some re-assertion of the old spirit o isolationism.

But while we can say that th United States has abandoned the rol of the Grand Neutral, and has a sumed the fullest participation in i ternational responsibilities, there ar still several question marks ove American foreign policy.

Although US opinion regards Eu rope as the front line of its defens Europeans are no more popular tha they ever were. And although Britai is considered "the inevitable par ner," anti-British feeling is wide spread. There is a danger tha Congress and public opinion ma become resentful and disillusione over the operations of the Marshal Plan.

Impatience and the desire for pe fectibility are pioneer inheritances i the American character. And the im mense generosity of the people is sho through with sudden suspicions— oldest of all, the fear that "Uncl Sam is being made a sucker by slic foreign guys." The money nerve i the American body has its conditione reflexes! An inspired handling of th Marshall Plan relationships on bot sides seems at this moment the mos urgent need.

BY SALOMON GRUMBACH
(See next page)

The Evil in Europe

is a hereditary and ancient disunity

PRESIDENT OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF FRANCE'S UPPER HOUSE TELLS HOW WORLD EQUILIBRIUM CAN BE—AND IS BEING—RESTORED

AMONG the main obstacles which lie in the path of a world in search of a new equilibrium—or more precisely of an equilibrium which it has never achieved—the European problem looms as one of the most complex.

Europe has so far been incapable of establishing continental political and economic discipline. After having enjoyed political, economic and military supremacy, Europe is now compelled to call for outside emergency aid to save itself from chaos.

If Europe should fail to restore herself, the whole world would suffer and peace would be rendered even more unsure than it now is. For there is no certain world equilibrium possible without European equilibrium. Of course, the stabilization of Europe will in itself not be sufficient to bring about world stability. Nor can Europe remain at peace if relations between East and West preserve their present character.

The United States and Russia face each other in Asia where the collapse of Japan, the inability of China to emerge from anarchy, the end of British reign in India, have given rise to gigantic problems. East and West watch developments in Asia with passionate interest, resolute not to allow themselves to be evicted from the positions they have acquired.

In South America, the more or less democratic, more or less fascist-inclined republics experience internal storms and it is difficult to say in what direction they will be carried.

In the Near East, Palestine stirs up passions and appetites the consequences of which are incalculable.

In Africa, the most emancipated elements are pushing the bulk of the black world toward ideas and claims which the colonial powers cannot ignore.

Australia is rent by its own dilemma. A member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it would like to reconcile the advantages it derives from this membership with the guarantees of security it could derive from closer links with the United States of America.

Economically, financially, socially, politically, ideologically, the whole world is in turmoil.

It is in this unhinged world, shaken by so many tremors, that the European problem must be solved. Some self-proclaimed "experts" have taken it upon themselves to deride Europe as a "devastated and impoverished appendix of Asia." Their inclination is to wrap Europe in a shroud, and throw flowers of remembrance and gratefulness onto the coffin. The slightest serious examination of the world situation, the slightest attempt to assess humanity's needs and the main characteristics of the various continents lead however with irresistible force to the following conclusion: Europe while having lost the dominant position remains a factor of capital importance for bringing into balance a world in search of its equilibrium—without which there can be no stable peace.

Fortunately, American statesmen have understood this. Headed by Secretary of State Marshall they have succeeded in persuading Congress as well as American public opinion also to understand. When the offer to aid Europe was first made by Secretary Marshall in his speech at Harvard on June 5, 1947, a mixed feeling of stunned surprise and disbelief gripped all of Europe, so unprecedented in history was the gesture.

The first grateful acknowledgment of the American offer of aid was unanimously passed, on my motion, by the Congress of the French Socialist Party of which Leon Blum is the revered leader and which was meeting in Paris that same week. In this resolution, one of France's major political organizations insisted from the very outset that American aid be used to put Europe to work and thus enable it to regain its effective independence.

After some weeks of hesitation, not having immediately received the order to oppose the "Marshall offer," the Communists eventually commenced their campaign which from that moment has not abated for a second and which has grown more violent from week to week. Their aim has been to convince the people that France, in accepting aid from the United States would become no more than an "American colony," an "instrument of American imperialism," a "tool of war in the hands of Washington against Soviet Russia and the popular democracies."

On the other hand, the parties favoring the acceptance of United States aid and the wholesome obligation entailed in this acceptance to organize Europe toward the unification of its economy as the first step

The Evil in Europe *continued*

to its administrative and political unification, have not ceased to proclaim with force that the Marshall Plan means that Europe will "recover its equilibrium and through its equilibrium, its independence from all exceptional outside aid" by 1952.

American aid has been accepted by the recipient countries not as beggars but rather as convalescents who, without the services of a physician, would be unable fully to recover. They were rightly convinced that the United States was by the same token defending its own most legitimate interests.

By compelling—in the kindest meaning of the term—the European states to make an effort at co-operation such as they had never before attempted, the United States has rendered an immense service to the old Continent. Since the Conference of the "sixteen" held in Paris on July 25, 1948, which Messrs. Hoffman and Harriman attended, Europe and France have entered into the active phase of implementation of American aid by the regulatory system established for intra-European exchanges.

The brightest hopes could be entertained if—and here we come to the big IF, the IF on which depends not only the future of Europe but also that of the world—if this development toward a unified Europe did not coincide with the deepest political chasm that it has known for centuries in "peace time." The entire American effort to facilitate European resurrection would be doomed to failure if humanity had earnest reasons to fear that, at the end of the road, there would not be peace but war awaiting all of us.

One thing is certain, the present impasse cannot endure. An iron-curtain isolation is not possible for either side in Europe.

This point was forcefully emphasized by M. Georges Boris, the French delegate, in his speech at the last session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva. "The problem dwarfing all others," he said, "is whether the European Commission will be able to work effectively for the rehabilitation and economic development of both parts of Europe which are complementary in so many aspects, which equally need one another and which unfortunately are at the present time separated by hindrances preventing the flow of exchanges indispensable to the reconstruction of both. The question is whether the European Commission could serve as a bridge between East and West. . . . The French Government . . . believes that development of exchanges between countries not only raises standards of living but consolidates peace as well. There is no doubt that the development of exchanges between West and East is one way . . . to render European economy independent of all outside assistance in the shortest possible time."

Is the Soviet Union desirous of and will she permit such an exchange? If so, she will have to abandon all dream of exercising an ideological, socio-economic and thus political hegemony in Europe.

Will the United States be genuinel inclined to foster these relations a soon as Russia will have changed i attitude toward American aid to th old continent? If so, the Unite States will have to rid itself of a anti-Soviet psychoses and therefo of all war psychoses.

What chance is there of a US Soviet agreement?

A real understanding betwee Washington and Moscow with regar to Europe, which in the present ci cumstances primarily means a understanding on Germany, would c necessity be either the prelude or th complement of a much broader ur derstanding which would includ Asia and the role that the Unite States and Russia intend to assign t Japan, China, Korea and India.

Europe could not render to th world a greater service, could nc better "repay" the American peopl for the aid which they have s effectively given us in our hour o stress, than to throw all its politica experience, all its intellectual re sources into the search for a *modu vivendi* which would enable both th politico-social system, as represente by the United States, and the politico economic system, as represented b the Soviet Union, to develop freely while leaving nations and men th free choice of joining one or th other according to the relative merit of each as they see them.

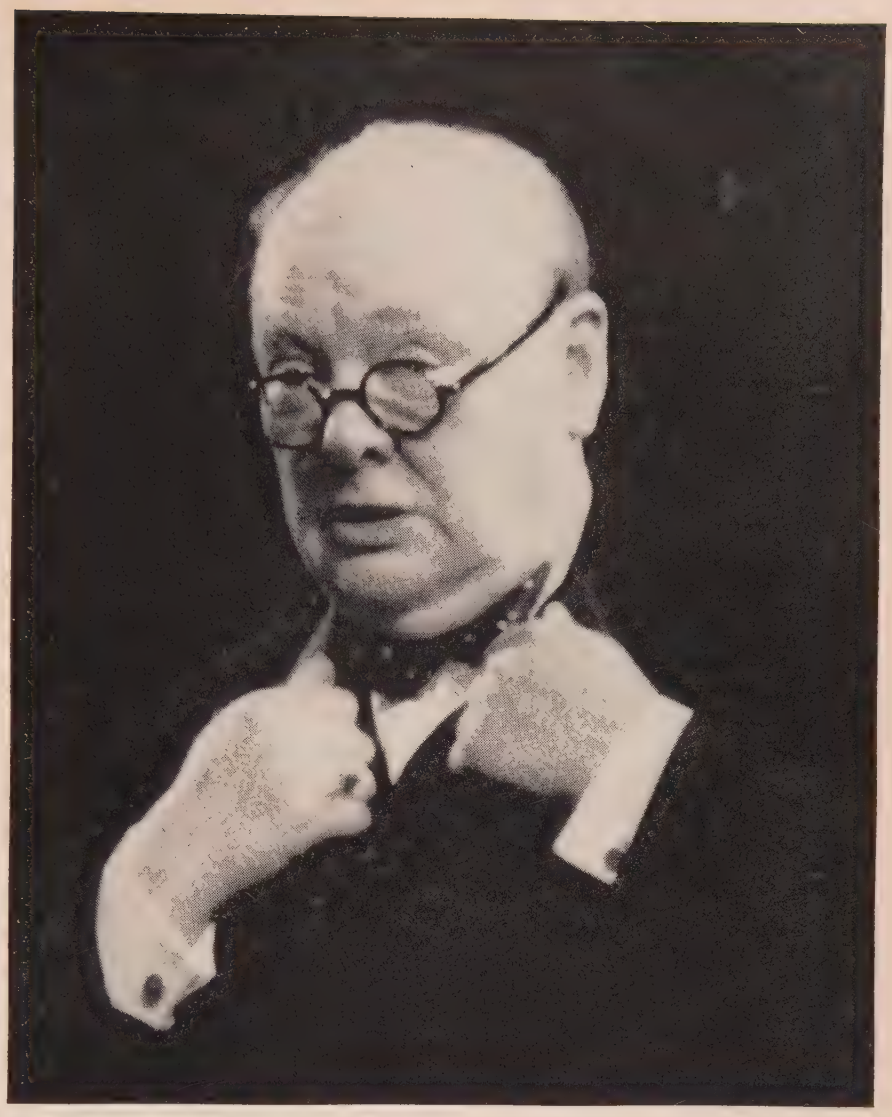
Neither the innumerable mistake committed by all of the big power since the end of the war in the realn of politico-diplomatic strategy no the failures with which too many o the Big Four international confer ences have met, nor the straitjacke of the veto which limits the authorit of the Security Council (but whic at the same time, however, consti tutes a "safety valve") can limi Europe's duty to work towards th indispensable rapprochement be tween Moscow and Washington.

France itself can have but *on* mission: to pursue tirelessly the or ganization of a Europe in which th two economic and political regime which today divide humanity wil have the chance to prove—by thei economic and social achievements, b their respect of collective and indi vidual democratic liberties—which o them seems more apt to guarante more economic justice, more socia security, more human freedom and with them, through them: *Peace.*

INTERNATIONALIST WHOM KAISER- AND HITLER-HEILERS HATED

Salomon Grumbach is in the best tradition of French internationalism. Born in Alsace-Lorraine, speaking both French and German, he was—between wars—a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies and often a delegate of the French Socialist Party to international Socialist conferences. He is now a member of the Executive Board of the Socialist Party and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Council of the Republic. A man of good will, Mr. Grumbach is nonetheless ardently hated by Nazi and other nationalistic Germans whose bitterness goes back to the First World War when he won fame by his anti-Boche propaganda work for France.

BY CURT HEYMANN
Veteran foreign correspondent and editor



OLD ARISTOCRATIC TORY CHURCHILL BROACHED EUROPEAN FEDERATION

THE GOOD FORTUNE AND VIRTUE OF THE UNITED STATES INSPIRE A MOVEMENT TOWARD FEDERATION THAT TELLS THE STORY OF AMERICA'S LEAD IN THE EAST-WEST COMPETITION TO CAPTURE THE LOYALTY OF EUROPE

Old Europe's New Love

is neither the far Right nor Left

PARIS: The hullaballoo and headlines have concerned the symptoms—blockade in Berlin, bitter words in the Palais de Chaillot, coal strikes in France, the threat of strikes in Italy. But these are not the real East-West cold war; they are skirmishes only. The real issue is far more vital. It is a competition between two politico-economic systems. And the contest is being waged over the question: which will better raise the standard of living of the peoples who subscribe to it or adopt it?

The East which sponsors the "new-democracy" type of state is, after a series of successes, on the defensive in Europe. The 9 to 2 votes in the Security Council, the 40 to 6 tallies in the Political Committee suggest the story. But they do not tell it all. The real story is not in the failure of Communist Parties to achieve power in Berlin or Austria, in France or Italy or elsewhere. It is, instead, in the growing influence of America. And that story is told by the vigorous development of the movement for a United States of Europe modeled after the United States of America.

Winston Churchill is among the most prominent sponsors of the idea of a federation that would include all nations living between the Pyrenees in the West and the Iron Curtain in the East. At the unofficial *Europa*

Old Europe's New Love *continued*

Congress at The Hague last May he urged this United States of Europe as a means to secure world peace, speed recovery and stop Soviet expansion.

This first call for European union faced immediate and enormous difficulties. Mr. Churchill's initiative was countered by Prime Minister Clement Attlee who held that it was inopportune to promote federation at a time when "the governments had their hands so full already with urgent and difficult problems." Consequently, Great Britain refused to take any official part in the meeting at The Hague and even dissuaded Labor Members of Parliament from attending.

Nonetheless, despite opposition, the idea of a "Parliament of the United States of Europe" did catch on and it took root to such an extent that the European Parliamentary Union went ahead with plans for its annual congress at Interlaken, Switzerland, in September.

Thirteen European countries were eventually represented there and it is noteworthy that seven of them (France, Italy, Greece, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Luxembourg) had the backing of Parliaments in favor of a European federation. Mr. Churchill was absent, but the British team was made up of 25 MPs—and not all of them Labor representatives.

This congress, handicapped above all by its unofficial status, could not be an unqualified success. It was further handicapped by the fact that its main task, drafting of a resolution calling on the governments of free Europe to convoke a Constitutional Convention for a European Federation, was lost sight of when France and Belgium announced they had joined forces to create an official European Assembly. These two nations proposed to the three other countries of the western European alliance (Great Britain, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) a preparatory meeting to frame a United States of Europe (USE).

It was no surprise that Paris and Brussels took the initiative in this project that may eventually result in a United States of *all* Europe. Georges Bidault, France's Foreign Minister at the time of the Ministers' Conference at The Hague last July, was the prime sponsor of the idea of a federated Europe and pressed the other Western Union governments for concrete action.

Bidault had the support of the Benelux representatives, but again lack of British enthusiasm—in this instance Ernest Bevin's lukewarm attitude—dimmed hopes for an overall European unit. Moreover, the same day M. Bidault launched his proposal, the French Government fell and he spoke without authority.

Since then, France has had four Governments but, despite her political instability, none of her subsequent cabinets failed to favor a European federation. Her leading politicians, including Paul Reynaud, Robert Schuman and Paul Ramadier, Leon Blum, Edouard Herriot and Andre Marie (several of them in the pages of UNW—Ed.) have all in recent months manifested their support for a European Parliament as an addition to and a reinforcement of the United Nations. The French know too well the hazards of national isolation. It was France which urged the Allies after the first World War to remain united against the possibilities of renewed German aggression.

Conscious of her vulnerable key position, France has again taken the initiative. According to the French blueprint, the proposed European Parliament would be composed of the 16 Marshall Plan nations, western Germany and the Free Territory of Trieste. For political reasons, the power of the European assembly must be limited in the beginning, and it cannot have legislative or executive powers. It would function in an advisory capacity only, the 18 participating Governments consulting it in all matters related to the federation of Europe.

The difficulties of achieving economic and military co-operation have

OLD ARISTOCRATIC LIBERAL SFORZA SPONSORS A MOVE TOWARD "USE"

CHURCHILL'S CONTEMPORARY—the Englishman is 74, the Italian 75 years old. During the war years when Churchill was striving to liberate Europe, Count Sforza was endeavoring to make it democratic by combating Italian Fascism and German Nazism.

been major obstacles in the path of realizing the French scheme. But objections in this respect have been removed by recent developments, prompted — ironically enough — by Soviet Russia's antagonism toward European unification.

The consideration that only ECA beneficiaries would be represented in the European Parliament reduces at the start the economic handicap since the economies of all participating countries are, to a great extent, already being co-ordinated under the Recovery Program. Likewise co-ordinated are now the military direction of the Western Union nations, the major elements in any USE—Britain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

There remains, of course, a formidable hurdle of political considerations, too numerous to be accounted for in this brief survey. But they can be cleared. Undoubtedly they were reflected strongly in the British Cabinet's official disapproval of the original plan last spring—though English public opinion regarded it favorably. In six months the British attitude has changed sharply, though it has not yet gone further than to suggest a European Council, appointed by and responsible to governments for the purpose of dealing with matters of common concern.

What Downing Street obviously fears is friction with her Dominions and overseas territories. To dispel such anxiety, the *Nouvelles Equipes Internationales* (the International of the Continental Christian Democrats and French MRP) resolved at a conference in The Hague last September that the position of the British Dominions and overseas territories of other Powers should not be overlooked and recommended that the proposed European Assembly should be free to discuss not only a Federation of Europe but a Confederation.

The British delegation urged this and made it clear that by Confederation was meant an association of representatives of Governments, not directly of peoples. As Catharine Atholl, chairman of the group's British Committee, pointed out, such a system could be brought into existence much more quickly than a Federal one, and could finally lead to federation. Whatever the final set-up, pressure of this influential group plus brusque demands from both Conservatives and Laborites in England brought about the British Government's change of heart.

London has now taken a more positive attitude in support of a European Assembly which became apparent when the five Foreign Ministers of the Western Union met here on October 26, and decided to establish immediately a five-power committee to study the question.

Composed of five French and five British representatives, three each from Belgium and the Netherlands, and two from Luxembourg, this is the first official body ever to examine the problem. According to its directives, it will take into consideration "all suggestions made by governments and private organizations." Its report will be submitted to the Consultative Council of the Western Union at its next meeting early in January.

SFORZA AND THE FRENCH WOULD MAKE HASTE SLOWLY

My own observations lead me to conclude that desire for European unity is strongest where the aftermath of the war is felt most—in the defeated nations, Germany and Italy. In both countries federation would be an effective antidote to a revival of nationalism. The German problem, it is generally realized, can only be solved within the framework of European unity and only federation can guarantee a long-term solution.

In her desire to rejoin the European family of nations, Italy, through her Foreign Minister Count Sforza, has made a valuable contribution toward European unity by proposing to the Italian houses of Parliament a plan that has two merits.

First, it is officially sponsored by a Government in power. Second, it is based on the suggestion that the OECC — the 16-government body which functions as the European complement of ECA—shall continue after the termination of American aid, thereby becoming a permanent body whose machinery could be used for economic co-operation.

The Sforza plan does not call for an immediate federation but simply for a European Organization as the the first short step that may later on lead to federation. There is a certain similarity with the French design in that both plans try to accomplish their aims gradually.

The drawback to both is that France and Italy are politically weak nations, unable to give strong support to the ideas they advocate.

But the remarkable thing is that all these loose ends point in the same direction and that the general idea is based on the same denomination: *European peace by unity!* Whether this can be achieved in alliance with the British Commonwealth and/or American co-operation depends much on the attitude of the United States. American officials on the Continent are using their influence in this direction and Democratic and Republican pre-election speeches gave the strong impression here that America desires nothing more than a United Europe —a USE modelled on the USA. However, European observers are amazed at our naive approach. Americans, they say, seem to labor under the illusion that such a goal can be reached in the immediate future.

It can not. The pattern of the USA has, beyond doubt, a great appeal to Europeans. But Americans overlook immense difficulties Europe faces that they never encountered: frontiers and language barriers; division and distrust; national pride and prejudice. And, above all, centuries of conquest and subjugation whose bloody traces are so deeply impressed that they can never be completely erased.

There is, nonetheless, a general realization that a new pattern must replace the old if Europe is to survive. There is no telling how it can be done, or when. Certainly it will take a long time. The day of renaissance is not yet at hand. But there is a ray of dawning hope because, at last, a beginning is being made.

Camille Gutt of the IMF

A MAN WITH 8 BILLION DOLLARS TO LEND

Explains bread, butter and currency—See page 46

THE CASUAL GLANCE THIS BOY GIVES A CORPSE BRINGS HOME SHARPLY THE HORROR OF THE GREAT KILLING

The Blood of Brothers is . .

BY DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

SONS OF THE SAME MOTHERLAND

LABOR IN THE SAME FIELDS

SHARE THE SAME SCHOOLS

AND WELLS, EMBRACE

THE SAME IDEALS

WEEP FOR THE SAME

MURDERED LOVED ONES

HINDUS and Muslims have been living side by side for generation after generation in the countryside, in the cities and in the towns. In spite of differences in religion and custom, they have lived in peace and amity, helping each other in times of distress and at other times sharing each other's joys.

Hindu and Muslim countrymen know very well that their well-being is inextricably interlinked. They talk the same language. They join hands to improve the village. They organize to protect their cattle and crops and hearths and homes. They share the same tank or well. They go to the same market, Hindus selling to or buying from Muslims, and Muslims making the same transactions with Hindus. Their children play the same games, go to the same school and receive the same lessons from the same teachers. They work together in the fields, Hindus employing Muslim labor and the Muslims Hindu labor.

In short, Hindus and Muslims in the rural areas know, by tradition, upbringing and experience, that for all the time to come they have to live under the same sky. They have to breathe the same air, drink the same water and eat the same food produced from the same soil. And after death they have to be burned or buried under the same blue sky and in the soil of their own village.

It is, therefore, their belief that Hindus and Muslims cannot be separated. One community cannot live without the other. And one cannot destroy the other.

Both the Hindu and the Muslim have learned to respect each other's customs, religions, social attitudes and superstitions. A Muslim will not let loose his fowls lest they trespass in the courtyard of his Hindu neighbor offending his religious scruples.

During the "Doorga Puja"—the greatest festival of the Hindus, the Muslims take an active part in the outer shows. Similarly the Hindus join merrily to observe the "Muharram" of the Muslims. It is not uncommon to see a Hindu call upon a Pir (religious leader of the Muslims) with gifts of food and a request that he invoke God's blessing. And Muslims go to Hindu priests with the same object. Once in a village in East Bengal when smallpox was raging there, I saw local Muslims visiting the temple of Kali (a great goddess of the Hindus) with a pot of milk fresh from the udder as a humble and grateful offering to the goddess.

The youngsters of one age group do not call those of an older generation by name but, whether Hindu or Muslim, address them as Kaka (younger brother of father), Jetha (elder brother of father), Dada (elder brother), Didi (elder sister), Mama (maternal uncle), Kaki (wife of Kaka), Jethai (wife of Jetha), Mami (wife of Mama), Pishi (sister of father), Mashi (sister of mother), etc. Nor is this practice confined to the countryside and the common folk but has also found its way into the cities and towns.

MUSLIM NEIGHBORS—LABORER AND MINISTER

I was once stationed in a district in East Bengal where my next door neighbor was a Muslim. Bocha was his name and he used to drive a hackney carriage. Bocha's *Phuphu* (Muslim cognate of Pishi) was my children's *Phuphu* too. They used to cling to her and beg for stories and anecdotes—as they did with their own *Pishi*. During my absence, Bocha's *Phuphu* used to sleep in my house as there was no other elderly man or woman in my family then. She was "Didi" to my wife.

My other Muslim neighbors were Dhalu, Kachai and Karim. Dhalu was a landless laborer. He was a

ne promise of peace in India

MUSLIM

Tall, slender, genetically of Caucasian (or Aryan) origin, this youth believes in the One God of the Judo-Christians —the Allah whose prophet is Mohammed. He is, nonetheless as truly Indian as the Tamil of the South whose dark, Dravidian forebears were overrun by the Hindus as the latter were 400 years ago by invading Muslims.

The Blood of Brothers *continued*

good gardener and we used to get as a token of his love for us a share of the vegetables given him by his employers. Kachai, an experienced and successful cultivator, was my chief adviser in the matter of the cultivation of crops on the Government Farm of which I was then in charge. Karim made it a custom to bring personally his own fruits of the season for my children before his own enjoyed them.

There was also a Muslim widow with only one son aged about 15. She was my wife's friend, philosopher and guide. My wife used to visit all the hamlets in the interior with her as the only escort.

I had in my office a Muslim peon. His youngest son Gafur was my son Dipak's constant comrade and playmate. And when my family used to go upcountry for a change Gafur must go. Gafur and Dipak are now big boys and they still love and correspond with each other.

Such a love and such a sweet relationship also exists between Hindu and Muslim communities in higher spheres of life. I was instructed by the Head Office in Calcutta on one occasion to meet a Muslim Minister at a certain steamer station close to my headquarters. I had never met him before. My eldest daughter who was then about 5 years of age wanted to accompany me and neither my wife nor I could dissuade her. We started in the evening in a steamer and spent the night on board.

I was to meet the Minister early next morning on the same steamer. Leaving my daughter in the cabin I met the Minister and went with him for breakfast to the dining saloon, which chanced to be directly opposite my cabin. A fairly large crowd assembled and, naughty as she was, my daughter opened the cabin door a crack and peeped through into the dining saloon.

The movement attracted the eye of the Minister and he asked, "Who is that little girl there alone?" I said she was my daughter. Immediately he was on his feet, gathered my daughter to his breast, and said to me, "What a cruel father you must be." Then he got a chair for her and put her at his side and helped her feed herself. We were with him for about an hour and all the time my daughter was his charge.

This is not all. When he visited my station officially six months later he did not forget my daughter and brought for her a valuable present which he presented to her personally.

I must tell also the story of another Muslim Minister—a much maligned Muslim leader now.

I was then working in Calcutta and he knew that one of my sons was lying seriously ill. Without my asking he told me not to come to the office and instructed the staff to send papers and files to my house for m attention. This continued for man days.

During this period he was to leav for Mecca on pilgrimage, and I wen to the railway station to see him of There was a big crowd and he wa profusely garlanded. I was at th back of the crowd. As soon as h eyes fell on me he rushed toward me elbowing his way and sayin "Why have you come here leavin your sick son? Go back immediatel I shall remember your son in m prayers."

ANOTHER SON
WITHIN THE HOME

This is a very small incident. B I have received many such kindness from many Muslims in high pos tions. The memory of those is alway full of fragrance for me. While wri ing this I received a letter from Muslim Magistrate, the concludin sentences of which run: "I am ca rying on somehow in a difficult Su division with its varied problem Please pray for me."

Some years ago I had an orpha Muslim boy working in my house. H was more or less a member of ou family and companion to my chi dren, all of whom called him Bh (Brother). One day he had a quarr with neighborhood boys and wa

HINDU

Tall, slender, genetically of Caucasion (or Aryan) origin, this youth believes in one of a multitudinous pantheon of grotesque gods—or none at all. He is the heir of that massive prehistoric migration of nomad husbandmen who brought to India the Sanskrit tongue, the lifegiving cow and the sacred Vedic hymns, the three bases of Hinduism.

struck by a stone which cut his forehead. He came running home, weeping and bleeding. He was met by my eldest daughter, then about 10, who cried out with tear-filled eyes—"Brother is bleeding"—and ran away. My wife gave him first aid and when she asked my daughter to help, the child replied, "I can't bear to look upon my brother's blood."

It was against such background as this that the Great Calcutta Killing (as the statesmen have called it) occurred and brother killed brother and "brother's blood" flowed in the streets, lanes and by-lanes of the city. But is it to be conceived that the background of love has been shattered and has been replaced by one of animosity and hatred?

Can Bocha do any mischief to me or my children now without any serious offense on our part? Can Dhalu, Kachai and Karim be different persons now full of bitter feelings against me and my family? Will that Muslim widow not bear the same love and affection towards my children? Will Gafur no longer be a brother to Dipak? Will my daughter be able now to watch her brother bleed from an act of outrage committed on him by her own brother? Will the Muslims in high positions who were so kind to me and blind to my shortcomings be my destroyers now?

No. The Great Calcutta Killing or a Greater Killing cannot wipe out attitudes which have taken ages to form. This is borne out by the fact that, even during the height of the hysteria of the Great Killing, Muslims protected Hindus and Hindus hid Muslims in their houses at great risk to their own lives. When the well-equipped showroom of a Hindu nurseryman was set afire by Muslims, the same Hindu was sheltering many Muslim families in the innermost compartments of his house. Similarly a Muslim, though his shop was being looted by Hindus, gave protection to many other Hindus in his home.

MAN'S HUMANITY TO MAN EXCEEDS HIS INHUMANITY

There were many such instances of humanity displayed both by Hindus and Muslims. And what did it show? To quote our poet: "Sunahey Manus Bhai Sabar Upare Manus Satya Tahar Upare Nai." (Oh, Brother man, listen—Man [Humanity] is above all —Nothing is above it.) And humanity triumphed in the thick of the free and horrible play of fire, sword and lathi.

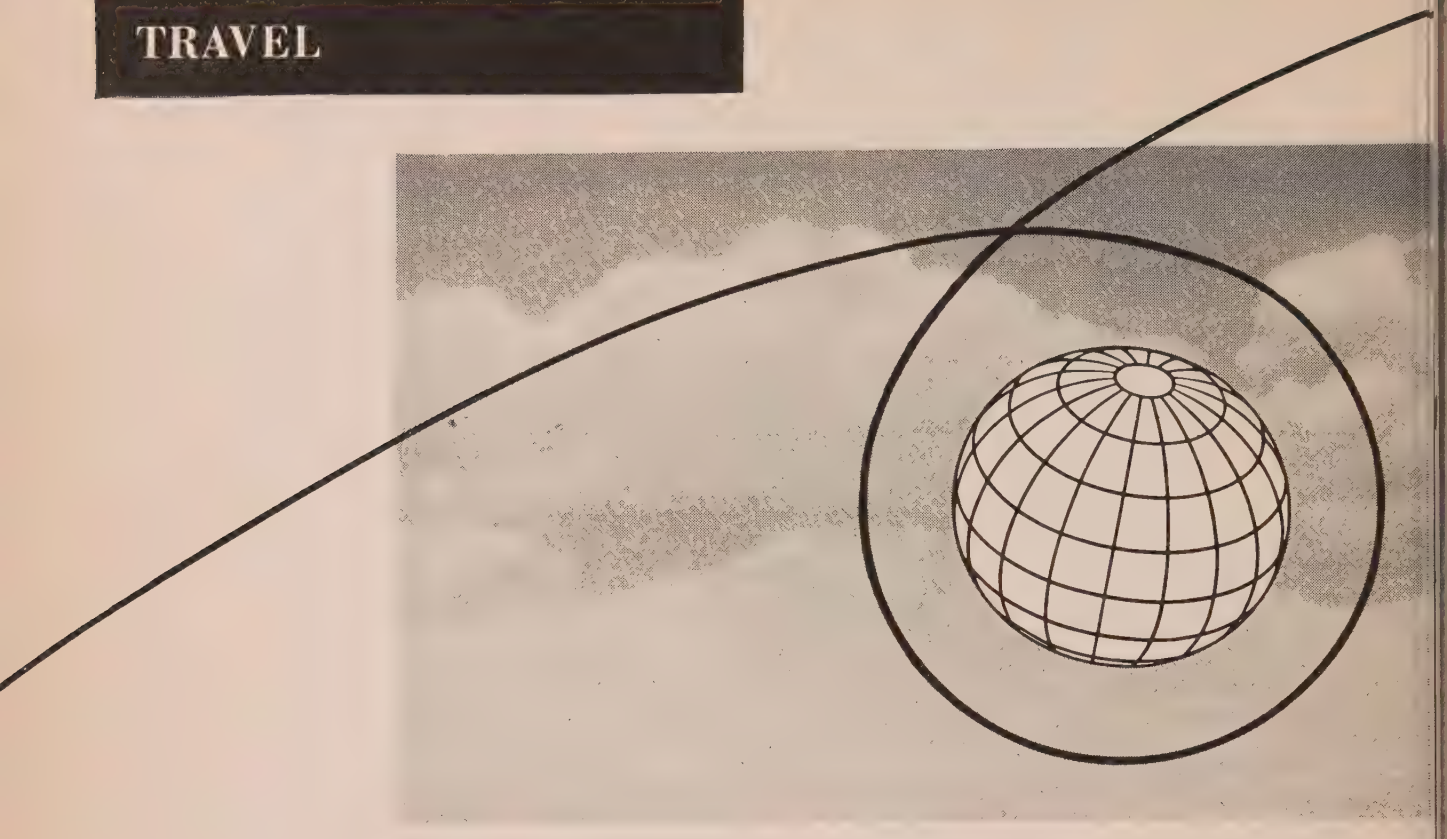
This humanity will last and the brutality will vanish. The beasts are still abroad. The devils are still at work to produce a conflagration whenever it is possible. But they are being confronted with a united voice from the rural population, Hindus and Muslims together:

"Go back, Devil. We are all one of the same soil. We cannot kill each other. Destiny has made us brothers. We cannot see our brother's blood."

A Glimpse of Man's Incredible Future

IN WHICH THE IMPOSSIBLE IS ALREADY FEASIBLE

Through the eyes of Juan Trippe—See next page



Space-Time . . . for sale

AIRWAYS NOW SELL ACROSS THE COUNTER THE INTANGIBLE DIMENSION DR. EINSTEIN DREAMED OF

A CLERK OR CARPENTER NOW FLIES TO EUROPE

OR AROUND THE WORLD ON HIS TWO-WEEKS PAID VACATION

Perhaps one of the most revolutionary concepts of man in the 20th Century is popularized by Albert Einstein—that space-time is the fourth dimension by means of which man can measure his world. Certainly one of the major accomplishments of man in the 20th Century is the mastery he has achieved in dealing with that dimension. With radio and television he has annihilated, in greater or less degree, the limits space-time impose on communication of his ideas. With the airplane, he has, to a lesser extent, overcome space-time limitations on his person.

The author of the following article is one of the practical leaders who, like the electronics engineers who have learned to transport words at the speed of light, has won fame as a mover of persons—at feasible cost. This is his report of what he and his associates have already accomplished, and what they hope to achieve in the future.

By JUAN TRIPPE
President and General Manager
Pan American World Airways System

WE AMERICANS have just enjoyed our biggest year of foreign travel since 1929. Estimates indicate that 300,000, as many people as live in Dallas, Texas, went to Europe; 450,000 went rolling down to Rio and other Latin American points by air alone, five times as many as visited these countries below the border before the advent of air transportation. In all, more than 2,000,000 of us visited in foreign lands.

The last time I returned from London I sat by a young factory mechanic from New Jersey who had spent his vacation with relatives in Surrey. He had left after work on Friday afternoon, arrived in London Saturday, spent two full weeks with the folks and was getting back to New Jersey in time to be on the job Monday morning.

Aboard also were an Oregon mason, his wife and son, returning from a visit to Sweden, a dressmaker from California, a New Jersey librarian and a Bronx taxi driver. In fact, the majority of the passengers were people of modest means, most of whom had been abroad for pleasure.

In the past the average man's holiday has been the prisoner of two keepers, time and money. But today

cheaper and swifter transport, higher wages and paid vacations are breaking these chains for millions.

During some months, more than 200 passengers a day climb aboard four-motored planes at La Guardia Field and fly in three hours to semi-tropical Bermuda, a place as foreign in its way as France. They can enjoy an entire ten-day vacation, including round-trip plane fare, accommodations in hotel or guest houses, three savory meals a day and full use of a bicycle during the stay for only $232. To spend such a deluxe vacation, a couple has to put aside only $9 a week for a year.

People can fly to Havana from Florida in 65 minutes for $30 round trip, to Nassau for $36, to Jamaica for $99 and Haiti for $135. Louisianians fly from New Orleans to Yucatan and return for $109.80. Texans experience an entirely different civilization from our own simply by winging from Houston to Mexico City in four hours at a round trip cost of $86.40 or from Brownsville to Guatemala and back for $154.80. Across the top of the United States from Washington state to Maine, Americans fly to Canadian summer and winter resorts and home again for from $16 to $48.

As travel costs decline, this pattern of mass travel across borders will extend farther and farther in all directions—to Europe, South America and eventually to Africa and Asia.

A beginning is being made in low-cost air travel to Europe. For a journey to England and France, your passport and visas will cost $16.31. Your round-trip plane ticket to London will be $466.70. Leaving New York on Friday, you arrive in London Saturday. For three days, you see the sights there. Food can cost virtually any amount, but you can find as inexpensive meals there as here, 50-cent breakfasts, dollar lunches and $1.50 suppers. They add up to $9 for three days, and a modest hotel room will be $9 more. You can get to all the great sights of London by bus, on foot, or subway.

ROUND TRIP TO PARIS FOR $57.60—FROM LONDON

Tuesday morning you go downtown to the Worker's Travel Association, buy a ticket and take a five-day conducted London-to-London tour through the Shakespeare country, the picturesque lake regions or the rugged Scottish Highlands. En route you stay at famous estates and historic castles converted into restful hostels. The complete tour, including hotel accommodations and meals, costs only $40.

On Sunday you fly across the channel for a week in France—round trip, $57.60. Here you enjoy real bargains in food and service. In Paris you will probably want to experiment gastronomically more than in London, spending say, $18 in three days, although you can keep the cost of your lodging down to $9.

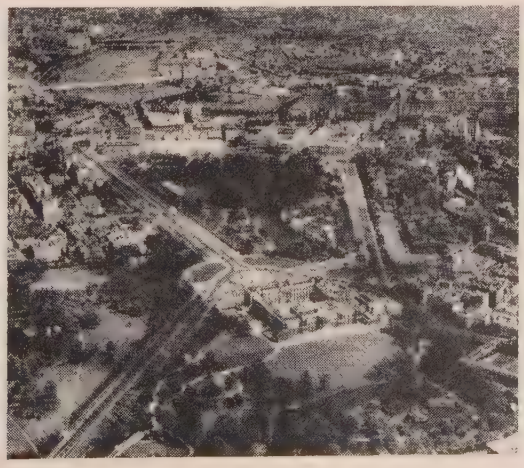
After visiting the famous Paris landmarks, you can leave Wednesday for the Normandy coast to view the invasion beaches and Mont St. Michel. The all-inclusive three-day tour, ending in Paris Saturday, will cost $45. That afternoon you return to London and then home again. The entire journey has cost $670.61, and you have really seen something of two countries. Anyone who can put aside $4.75 a week for three years can take this trip.

I know of a $3,000-a-year Brooklyn postal employe who has visited New Zealand, Alaska and several South American countries. Last May he walked into one of Pan American's ticket offices and said "All my life I've wanted to fly around the world. Let's go." For four years he had bought an $18.75 war bond every two weeks. "Counting accumulated interest and about $200 I'll get during my 26 days leave," he confided, "I've got more than $2,000."

On May 19 he was off. His ticket, passport and visas had taken nearly $1,800 of his hoard. He stopped three days in England for an inexpensive visit. He made nine similar stops of from one to three days. A fellow pas-

NEW YORK
The plane looks down on dwarfed termite towers, skyscrapers of Manhattan.

LONDON
The world's largest city sprawls amidst trees along the Thames enfolding, as here, Buckingham Palace.



PARIS
An unplanned city, it lies cut like a cake to the Arc de Triomphe.

Space-Time for sale *continued*

senger with whom he struck up an acquaintance turned out to be the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, who entertained him in Istanbul.

On the roof garden of a Calcutta hotel he had morning tea with an Indian merchant who was eager for news of the States and who insisted upon spending the day showing the visitor the city. In Shanghai, with $10, he became a millionaire in Chinese currency. After a day in Honolulu and three days visiting his niece in San Francisco, he got back to work without missing a day's pay.

Only a few years ago it was inconceivable that a government clerk could travel round the world during his regular vacation period. Any stop-over required at least two weeks, until the next steamer arrived. Now no passenger need ever wait more than two days for his next hop; regularly employed people can take the Grand Tour during their usual holiday period.

We Americans have a tremendous stake in foreign travel. Hundreds of millions of people abroad are ordering our machine tools, trucks, food, medicine and thousands of other articles. We are sending these goods in unprecedented quantity—30 billion dollars' worth since 1945. But how are our manufacturers and in turn our workmen to receive payment for all these goods and services. Unless foreigners somehow obtain dollars, they cannot pay their bills to us Americans.

The most pleasant means of getting dollars abroad is for American visitors to take them over. There they are provided with a continuously moving show window displaying Parisian gowns, English woolens, Irish linens, Swedish glass, Swiss watches, native handwork. And when they relax on the Riviera, ski in Switzerland, view the Venus de Milo in the Louvre, or sip a cup of *mate* in Buenos Aires, they are helping themselves and their own country to boot. The dollars they leave behind will ultimately be spent in the United States. The money they spend has become the greatest single factor in our foreign trade. In 1948 American travelers spent an estimated $853,000,000 abroad, approximately 20 per cent of the value of all goods imported for sale.

FLYING TO HONOLULU USED TO BE ADVENTURE

As fares go down the number of travelers increases. During the entire year 1938, when the fare to Honolulu was $360, only 104 passengers took the ride. By 1947 the one-way fare had fallen to $150, and more than 66,500 winged their way to Waikiki. In 1935 only 135,000 persons from the United States visited the entire West Indies. But with the advent of bargain air rates travel to Cuba alone now requires 30 flights a day, together with numerous weekly ship sailings, to carry visitors at the rate of 177,000 a year.

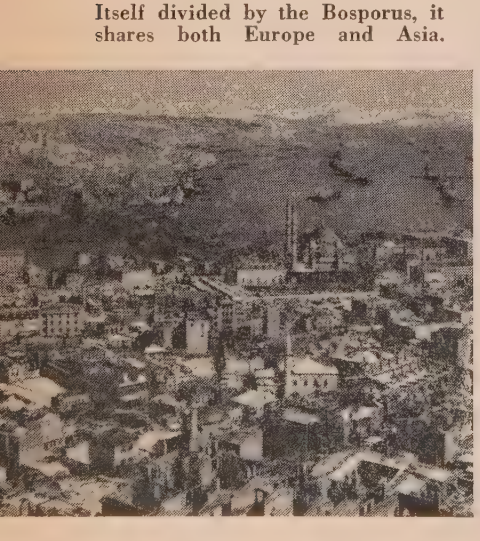
If we can continue this downward trend in air travel prices, we will send abroad an exodus of travelers such as the world has never seen. The Curtis Publishing Company made a survey in which their investigators asked a representative cross-section of Americans under 25, "If airline rates were so reduced that you could fly abroad, for example to England, for about $200 round trip, would you go?" Forty-eight per cent said "yes."

We will not achieve this new high plateau of world travel, however, unless we work for it. Chiefly we must cut the red tape which now binds every plane, person or ship attempting to go overseas. The operators of a single airplane flight from New York to London must fill out 363 pages of questionnaires: 57 US clearance declarations, 28 cargo and crew manifests, 95 declarations of origin and health, 40 landing cards, and so on. If the trip is from San Francisco to Australia, the number of these documents goes up to 5604.

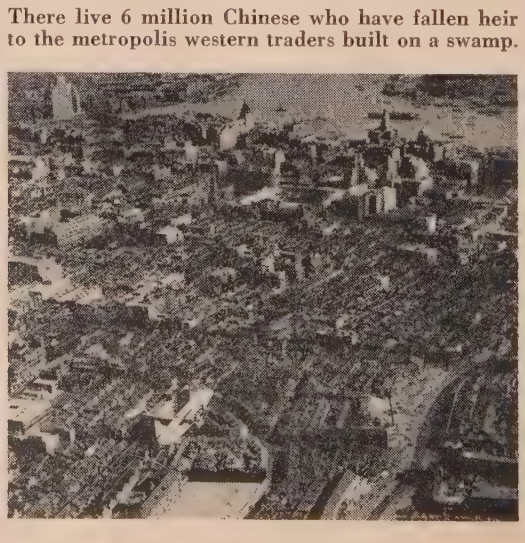
Agreements have recently been reached whereby an air-express shipment can travel anywhere in the Americas on a single document instead of the seven complicated forms previously required. A US citizen, however, must still arm himself with a dozen or more.

As an illustration of how these paper impediments affect prospective passengers, take the case of Mr. Jones, an Omaha businessman who wants to make a quick business trip through five neighboring Latin American countries. He has limited time available and the local air office has

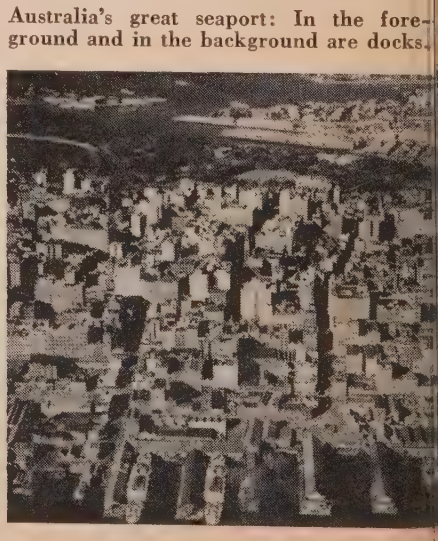
ISTANBUL
Itself divided by the Bosporus, it shares both Europe and Asia.



SHANGHAI
There live 6 million Chinese who have fallen heir to the metropolis western traders built on a swamp.



SYDNEY
Australia's great seaport: In the foreground and in the background are docks.



assured him immediate reservations and arrival in Mexico City in about 10 hours after take-off. His trips to Guatemala City, San Jose, Panama and Bogota will take less than three hours apiece.

He applies at the nearest Federal District Court for his passport, taking with him his birth certificate, $10 and three photographs. Then he has to cool his heels a minimum of 10 days, not including mail time, for the application to go to Washington, D. C., and return.

His real trouble begins with the visas. He learns that none of the countries he will visit will issue a visa unless he applies for it in person.

This means that he must make a trip to Chicago, the nearest city where all five countries have consulates.

Jones soon realizes that he is not going to return to Omaha with visas in his pocket that night. He must get a flock of photographs, 19 to be exact—Mexico still wants six front view and four in profile. He must get police certificates for all five countries, and for Colombia a special one, testifying to his good conduct for the last 10 years! He finds that he must have a health certificate and smallpox vaccination for all five nations, as well as a yellow-fever inoculation certificate for one. Nor will certificates from his family doctor be sufficient, since Colombia specifically repudiates them, requiring one from an undefined "official entity," and Costa Rica insists that it be authenticated at a special fee of $3.

Back home, Jones spends the next few weeks getting shots and assembling documents. Then he returns to Chicago for another round of the consulates. However, if he expects even this time to return shortly with visas in hand, he is disappointed. After filling out 15 complicated forms, he discovers that the consuls do not have the actual authority to issue them. In every case the application must be referred to the home government for approval, at his expense for cable charges! So in addition to some $30 he has paid in fees, to say nothing of the hotel and travel expenses of his trips, he now pays five separate cable charges if he expects to get his visas. He returns to Omaha and waits from three to six weeks for his visas to arrive. At last he sets off on his trip, which involves a total traveling time of less than 50 hours!

In many countries, the tourist traveling for pleasure is not subjected to the tedious and unnecessary requirements that afflict the businesman. It is a tribute to the energy and persistence of the American businessman that red tape has not kept him at home altogether.

ERNEST BEVIN'S HEAVEN IS A DREAM WORLD STILL

Ernest Bevin once remarked that the aim of his foreign policy was to "be able to go to Victoria Station, buy a ticket and go where the hell I like without a passport or visa." This idea is not a Utopian dream. But to achieve this freedom of movement our own government must take the lead. It should begin at home by making passports obtainable for a nominal fee as a matter of right, not privilege, within 24 hours. If we must have them, they should be issued, not from Washington, D. C., only, but through many outlets, such as the 300 offices of the Immigration Service or the 1100 clerks of Federal District Courts.

Some progress toward taking the profanity out of traveling is under way. The governments of all 21 American republics have recently agreed to eliminate unnecessary official barriers. And the International Union of Official Travel Organizations, a consultative body of the United Nations in which 48 nations have participated, is dedicated to achieving similar results all over the world.

Even more encouraging is the increase in the customs exemptions recently authorized by Congress for returning travelers. You are now allowed to bring in $400, rather than $100, worth of personal articles and gifts duty free.

Men returning these days from London with fine doeskin jackets and slacks, Scotch woolens and cashmere sweaters are enjoying real bargains. So are the women who bring back Wedgwood and Spode chinaware, antique silver, French gloves and evening bags, handtooled Florentine leather, Venetian glass and Swiss watches. A New York secretary who had saved for a winter wardrobe

RIO DE JANEIRO
At dusk the city glitters and Sugar Loaf, the harbor's jewel, is necklaced in light.

JUNEAU
The capital of Alaska, darkly wooded mountain in the background, in the foreground the sea.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Golden City is below. Across the bay, and bridge, lies Oakland.

bought it in Bermuda. The savings on her camel's-hair coat, costing $75 instead of $200, alone paid half the price of her vacation. Finding bargains is part of the fun of foreign travel. Our government gave tourism a real boost when it raised this exemption.

Meanwhile, from Europe to South America hosts beckon with outstreched arms. Voyagers are already finding a warmer welcome overseas. The French woo us with Gallic ardor. They have in effect dropped currency exchange controls for us. The British give special allowances on rationed articles—about the only individual in England who receives an extra coupon for gasoline is the excursionist. Officials in Switzerland, Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries now welcome us without requiring a visa. These countries are beginning to realize that they can cultivate tourism scientifically, like a bumper crop, and make it pay.

Like the prophet unhonored in his own land, our dollars are celebrities abroad. In Italy the *lira* has been reduced until American money is worth twice as much there as it was in 1946. You can journey from Naples to Rome, to Florence, to Venice, to the Dolomites, to the Austrian frontier, a distance of 637 miles, with stopovers anywhere en route, for $9.35 first class or $6.50 tourist. Gifts and personal articles are correspondingly inexpensive.

It is a mistake to postpone a trip abroad for fear that you may take food from the mouths of the hungry. Your dollars bring your hosts far more than you consume. If 100,000 Americans spent two weeks in France, each spending $20 a day, they would put in French hands enough money to buy one tenth of the wheat, machinery, tobacco and all other goods shipped to them from the United States during the first five months of 1948.

Understanding between nations will grow as more of us meet each other face to face and talk things over. We can now know intimately the lands and people of our world neighborhood. We can learn to understand their politics, their ideas of what makes life worth while.

Travel, like education, used to be considered a luxury. I contend that in our era of low-cost, high-speed transportation, it takes on new significance. It gives you a better knowledge of your world neighbors, provides relaxation that restores your productive capacity. It is high time that we made the same discovery about foreign travel that we have about schooling. For Americans it is no longer a luxury. It is a cultural, political, educational and economic necessity.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

PLANS. A European Travel Commission composed of representatives of 14 European countries has been established to encourage more American travelers to visit the Marshall Plan countries.

The ultimate purpose of the European Travel Commission is to remove unnecessary official barriers to travel in these countries. Their governments will be urged to develop a free area in which travelers may pass from one country to another almost as easily as they now may pass from one state to another in the USA. The Commission will also work for increased and better transportation at lower cost, for better hotel accommodations and better service generally. As a preliminary undertaking, the Committee has requested the 14 co-operating countries to report what they propose to do to further travel under the Marshall Plan.

TURKEY is the latest contender for a place in international aviation. Turkish airlines plan to extend their overseas schedules to points in Italy and England in addition to those already in effect to Athens. Turkish pilots will fly with Pan American personnel to get acquainted with the new air routes.

SWISSAIR which has been operating on a fortnightly basis between New York, Geneva and Zurich has suspended its trans-Atlantic service for the winter. Service will be resumed in the spring and extended to two or three weekly trips.

TOWER ISLE HOTEL in Jamaica is the newest de luxe spot in the Caribbean. To be opened before the Christmas season, the hotel has its own airfield for guests arriving by private plane.

FORESEEING the extension of last summer's travel boom over the winter months, Cunard White Star Line has scheduled no less than 15 cruises to South America and the West Indies. Rates for eight-day cruises to Nassau and Havana are from $240 up.

AIR-POWER—An 8,000-mile air dash with two tons of electrical machinery was recently undertaken by K.L.M. Dutch Airlines in response to an urgent call following the failure of an electric power station at Bangkok, Siam. The needed parts were flown from Stockholm to Schiphol and transshipped by Constellation to Bangkok. The journey was completed in exactly two days.

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An Analysis of the Novel in 1948

Symbols wearing Pants

A Strong postwar trend is Exposed

IN WHICH THE PASSIONS AROUSED BY A CAUSE SUPERSEDE — NOT REPLACE — SEXUAL AROUSAL IN WHICH CHARACTERS BEHAVE LIKE BEASTS OR ANGELS AND SELDOM LIKE MEN AND WOMEN

By TIBOR KOEVES
Book Editor

1948, YEAR OF uneasy peace, has also been the year of resentful war novels. While newspaper readers and radio listeners all over the world lived in fear of a new and terrible clash, some of our best authors concentrated on the devastating effects the recent global insanity has had on the hearts and minds of young Americans.

It would seem that, as the problem of peace is too large for our statesmen, war has been an experience too vast and too deep for our creative writers to cope with in an artistically convincing manner. Since wars are more numerous than Stendhals, Tolstoys or even Hemingways, there is nothing surprising or disheartening in this. But, just to keep the record straight and our perspective clear, we must recognize a dearth of satisfactory accomplishments, notwithstanding a number of sincere and honorable attempts.

The Big Three of 1948's war novels—big in scope and in size as well as in sales and popularity—are Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*, Irwin Shaw's *The Young Lions*, and Stefan Heym's *The Crusaders*. They represent three different kinds of talent.

In Mailer's book an exceptional achievement is marred by schematic and doctrinal handling of human character. Nonetheless, it remains a rich and powerful work, a genuine novel.

Shaw has produced a distinguished and agreeable job, but one altogether too smooth and pat in style as well as in plot and characterization. With no great effort it is possible to think of it as an extended and glorified serial from a slick magazine.

Heym's novel is too like a Hollywood script. It achieves this similarity by a number of melodramatic situations and synthetic characters, such as Karin, the woman correspondent who constantly pops up here and there distilling desire and sex urges, or Prince Yasha, the industrial Fascist, clumsily *voulu*.

Whatever their differences, however, there are also strong similarities in the three novels. And the points they have in common are very significant because they illustrate the difficult artistic problems all self-respecting novelists face in our time.

It is no coincidence, to start with, that each of the authors has undertaken to write a novel about a group of people rather than about a single individual. They have reverted to the procedure of the artists in the Middle Ages who covered the massive walls of Italy's churches with huge murals. In the center of his composition the master of the 14th or 15th century may have so placed and lighted a figure or two that they emerged with greater emphasis and greater plasticity than the rest. But, only too palpably, the main purpose of the painter was the creation, through the maze of forms, figures and faces, of a huge collective scene depicting the accepted myth explaining the nature and destiny of mankind.

In the same vein, in their vast novels these three artists have attempted to record a myth about the generation of Americans who engaged in the last war. A myth about the physical and moral fate of the men who bogged down in mud and mental confusion, who suffered from wounds, thirst and loneliness, who were sacrificed by generals, bullied by sergeants and killed by the enemy in France, Italy, Germany and the islands that led to Japan.

Small wonder if in these gigantic pictures the individual man is painted with bold strokes in primary colors, if there is little place for the

Symbols wearing Pants *continued*

intimate detail, the mysteriously personal. The characters in these stories hardly ever grow, expand or change, even in the most stimulating circumstances. Wilson, Ridges, Goldstein, Hearn, the General, to name only a few in *The Naked and the Dead;* a central figure like Michael in *The Young Lions*, or Loomis, Willoughby, Yates and the rest in *The Crusaders* feel and act in exactly the same manner in the last pages as in the first.

In Croft, the werewolfish sergeant, Mailer has at least created one overwhelmingly convincing portrait which steps directly from his book into the pantheon of unforgettable fictional characters. But, compared to Croft, the rest of the cast is obvious and contrived, and becomes ever more so as the story progresses. As one reads, the suspicion grows into conviction that the author has tampered with these people, that he has inflated them beyond their limits so that they stand for whole classes and species. They become abstractions, types, the standard elements around which myths are traditionally woven.

Being overwhelmingly politically minded, our authors have replaced the metaphysical characters of the earlier age, the Sinners, Innocents and Angels, by their 20th century equivalents, three modern archtypes. The first is at times loosely identified as the Fascist; utterly evil, he is a murderer or a plunderer or both, and all his instincts are depraved. The Innocent is the victim of our days: the Jew, the Negro, a defenseless prisoner of war, or the nostalgic private whom the absurd machinery of the Army delivers to every savage impulse of sadistic non-coms. The third archtype is the man of good will, the sensitive, the pure, who suffers with the Innocent and knows that the justification of his life is in combatting Evil. Occasionally he is referred to as the Liberal.

But, if on the whole the cast reminds us of the eternal legends of humanity, and especially of its Western medieval version, how differently the Divine, or rather the Human Comedy develops in the works of today's young writers! In the contemporary scene the Innocent is without hope because there is no superior justice, much less a Hell or Heaven. The Sinners never repent and are rarely punished, but enjoy their ill-gotten booty. And the Angels —they are the saddest lot of them all. They carry the load of the world in a cheerlessly introverted manner, they are rattled and confused by life, and their virtue is without vibration or fervor. Contrary to the medieval myth, the world inhabited by this galaxy of people is not only a valley of tears but also completely confused because it is not ruled by a transcendent moral order. And, above all, it is a world without any kind of a Savior.

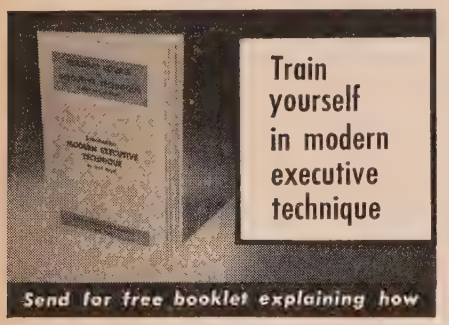
Significantly, it is not only in the novels about the war, a collective enterprise, that the writers of 1948 create larger-than-life characters who embody more than individual experience. Even in a novel of such vitality and freshness as Ross Lockridge Jr.'s *Raintree County* whose background is the peaceful America of the 19th century, Garwood B. Jones becomes more and more "The Politician" as the story unfolds, and Cash Carney more and more "The Financier." And the copious historic digressions, the newspaper cuttings and other paraphernalia which help to portray the present and past of the Shawnessy family, all underscore the author's belief that man is an expression of pressing social forces. In lesser works, such as Kenneth S. Davis' *The Years of Pilgrimage*, and Richard Brooks' *The Boiling Point*, the degree to which living persons become interchangeable with abstract ideas is carried to an extreme which almost denies either book of its claim to fiction.

MODERN AUTHORS AT THE CROSSROADS

The dilemma of our creative writers, their painful efforts to strike a balance between the artist and the sociologist or philosopher, is, of course, a universal problem today.

The fact is that in recent decades the widening of the scope of the novel has brought about a change in the handling of the human character, and thereby challenged the novel's very foundations, the traditional basic laws of the medium. This law held that the novel reader must experience life intensely and integrally through the magic medium of an eloquent character of human proportions. The novel's great success as an art form has been based on its power to impress and illuminate through identification with a central hero. It remains to be proved that these laws may be broken without the novel losing its greatest appeal. The secret of the 19th century novel's miraculous career was that the novelist focused primarily on a single character. From Stendhal's Julien Sorel to Anna Karenina, from Madame Bovary to the Idiot, and even from Tom Sawyer to Gide's Immoralist, the novel expressed man and his society, his hell and heaven, through the loves, revolts, joys and tragedies of one protagonist. The authors believed that life was a one-man proposition and the real stuff could be conveyed only by projecting it through the soul of an individual.

The trouble started when this anthropomorphic - individualistic concept was abandoned, doubtless as a consequence of the general crisis of the century. Puzzled and frightened by a world whose every law seemed



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to be collapsing, the artist could not but become a thinker. He came to question whether man was the measure of all things and got more and more involved with theories and abstract concepts. Then, something important happened. Before the novelist or his readers noticed it, the human being came to be replaced as the artist's prime inspiration by a *vision of ideas*. As a first consequence of the shift, the characters promptly ceased to be ends in themselves but were subjected to serving the cause of the writer as bearers of theses. They became convenient dummies to be garbed at the creator's will in this or that belief, the incarnations of one abstraction or another.

Today the dominant trend denies that man alone must be the object of the artist's curiosity, and attributes more interest to the powers that play with him than to his unique and intimate qualities. And this holds true whether the writers are the socially-conscious Americans, the philosophical Existentialists, the metaphysical Kafka or the politically preoccupied Arthur Koestler.

And, if the latter's *Darkness at Noon* still appears to be based on the portrait of one central character, the analysis of the personal world of one man, the reason only emphasizes the trend. For what characterizes Rubashov more than anything else is the inhuman degree to which he has trained himself to be the walking representative of abstract ideas and impersonal forces at the expense of his rich individual impulses. This reduction of the hero to a mathematical level where his reactions may be predicted and computed by consulting a slide rule of Marx and the Manual of Party Procedure, conforms precisely with the author's reduced interest in man. But such fusion of character and artistic purpose is, of course, utterly exceptional. Furthermore, as V. S. Pritchett remarked, the most moving passages of the book are those where, like sudden fragments of sunlight, moments of human illumination appear in Rubashov.

The American writers are, of course, much less doctrinaire than the Central European, considerably less philosophical than the French, and never as transcendental as the Czech. In the American novel man's struggle in the world is a strongly emotional business. True to the

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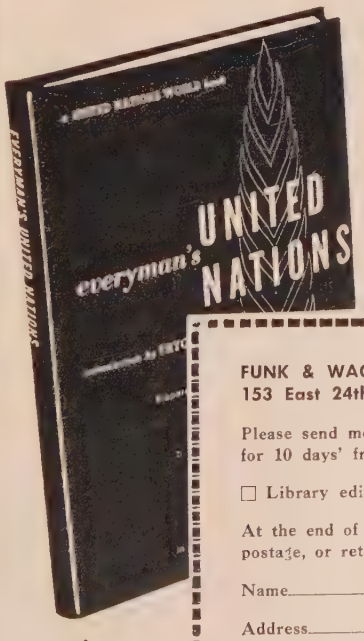

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Symbols wearing Pants *continued*

American tradition, the individual's problems are overwhelmingly of social origin and they are projected not by unearthly fables, mathematical logic or a sustained non-conformist behavior, but by sudden action, the explosion of frustrated, angry and more often than not inarticulate natures.

In that respect such utterly dissimilar people as Sergeant Croft, who can't resist murdering a disarmed Japanese, and Harris, the well-meaning but obtuse Liberal in John Cobb's subdued but not uninteresting *The Gesture*, who defies his whole squadron by billeting a Negro officer among them, come very close to being blood brothers.

Merle Miller's *That Winter* is another example of youthful inarticulateness and of almost hysterical emotionalism. Since it takes place in New York, the cast's lack of self-expression is evidenced in constant wisecracks, an insidious and unpleasant *ersatz* for human conversation. But, unfortunately, emotion alone does not create life and character any more than Gallic attempts to delineate an individual by the coordinates of a well-defined philosophical system.

One of the astounding things in this magnificent turmoil of the present day American novel is the emotional and intellectual immaturity of the intellectuals and so-called liberal characters. Mailer's Hearn, Shaw's Michael, Heym's Yates, Cobb's Harris, to mention only a few, are shadowy, sad figures without sustained courage or warm purposefulness, and utterly devoid of joy in life.

Light seems to have gone out in the hearts of America's young intelligentsia as if, and this may not be a wild guess, something had died in them with the death of Franklin Roosevelt, as if the end of the New Deal had completely paralyzed them. Disappointment in Russia may have taught many of our intellectuals what they were up against but, to judge by our novels, none know with a deep and joyous knowledge what they are for. Altogether their defeated protagonists seem to suggest that political renewal is impossible for the young Americans of bourgeois extraction. The logical conclusion would be that the next great popular movements must come from elsewhere—perhaps the ranks of labor. But that is a field which American novelists have so far almost completely neglected.

Even in novels whose less ambitious goal is to follow individual destinies rather than deal with the whole complex American scene, the loneliness of man and his difficulty in communicating with his fellows is a recurring theme. Often it is combined with a picture of provincial grossness, unhappy family relationships or the unsolved problems of virginity and adolescence, as in Allan Seager's *Inheritance* or *The Patchwork Time* by Robert Gibbons. It is a pity that Mr. Gibbons succumbs to the temptation of playing with a contrived language. A straighter and less "literary" style would help him in becoming a more convincing and more effective writer.

Fancy and humor rarely illuminate these accounts of tormenting personal problems induced by the blindness of man and the fury of the age. A pleasant exception is Josephine Pinkney's *The Great Mischief*, a fantasy about witchcraft, incubi and satanic goings on made more than palatable by a gay and imaginative handling of the unreal. Here, too, however, a rather stiff and somewhat jerky style has to a point betrayed the author.

FOUR ANSWERS TO MAN'S PROBLEM

Another fantasy, on a completely different level, is *The Ides of March* by Thornton Wilder, a memorable book by a great artist. Mr. Wilder deliberately falsifies history and gets away with it. In Caesar's time there was a Republican and a Democratic party; there was a New Deal which passed laws very like our own. And Caesar was FDR in armor and toga. But Mr. Wilder has not much use for general historic ideas. His concern is to commune with a great man who can only be understood on his own terms, and to recreate a Clodia or a Catullus with all the warmth and persuasion of their human uniqueness. In the breadth of his wisdom Mr. Wilder also conveys to us his dominant belief that life, above all, is vision and understanding: understanding of one's own heart and the hearts of others.

Among the Europeans whose novels appeared in the US during 1948, three authors of as many nationalities have written strong stories whose intensely-felt characters solve their personal problems in a manner which places their version of the solution—just as Mr. Wilder's solution is—among the legitimate and authentic attempts at answering man's most urgent problems.

Giuseppe Berto the Italian believes in the power of feeling. To the adolescents of his *The Sky Is Red*, the world is hostile, cruel, contemptuous. They try to overcome evil and misery through devotion, friendship and love; their philosophy is the freshness and nobility of their hearts. Graham Greene, the Anglo-Catholic, goes the mystic way. *The Heart of the Matter* is a tense and pitiful colloquy between a soul in sin and its Creator. In *The Plague* Albert Camus the Frenchman lucidly expresses his election of a new and compassionate humanism as the only palliative in a life of inevitable senselessness and tragedy. One is tempted to say that, while Greene's choice is God without charity, Campus opts charity without God.

These various individual attempts to grasp the meaning of life and live according to it, these essentially lyrical and personal approaches will perhaps make it clear that the use of the adjective "medieval" in these pages, as applied to the larger and more valuable portion of contemporary American fiction writing, implies much more than the use of a metaphor.

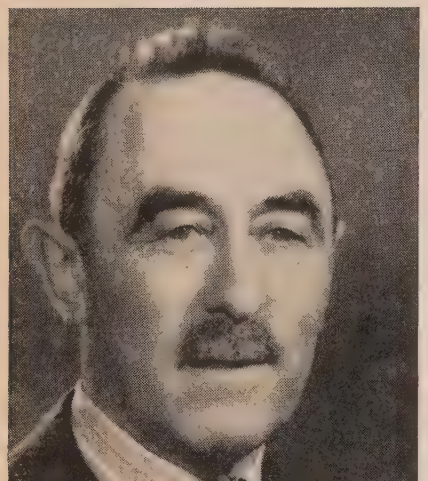
It implies a statement about a definite trend, not in the religious sense, but in the sense that life in the Middle Ages was a collective, anti-individualistic and anti-nonconformist experience, where every man's fate was believed to be moulded and decided by the same superior and invisible forces. The tendency in the American novel to submerge the individual and to stress the power of overwhelming extraneous factors is probably its most deeply embedded, most characteristic quality. To a large extent this is a pre-Renaissance literature, perhaps dimly perceiving but as yet not destined to portray and celebrate the liberation of the individual.

WORLD TRADE

DECEMBER, 1948

PAPER IN THE RAW—SAWLOGS AWAIT HAULING

CAMILLE GUTT, *Director of the International Monetary Fun*
BERTIL OHLIN, *Famous Swedish Economist*
THE EDITORS, *World Policy Trends in Paper*



I CAN think of few things so familiar, yet so little understood, as money. Nobody has any trouble figuring out what his American dollars, or British pounds or French francs or Polish zlotys will buy at current prices. The wage earner knows the purchasing power in his pay envelope, the housewife just how far her budget will allow her to go in searching for bargains, the industrialist the cost of building a new plant.

But, though everyone deals with thousands of money problems, both personal and in business, far too few realize, even remotely, the extent to which our own prosperity, our own welfare is affected by the way in which national money systems are run.

The administration of a money system has a direct continuous influence upon earning and spending. If there is too much currency in circulation, but a shortage of goods and services, if credit is overabundant but the opportunity for profitable investment slight, a country is headed for deep economic disturbances, dissatisfaction, even a debacle, and its population for the distresses of inflation.

Moreover, in today's world, the money system of no single nation can stand alone, and function by itself. There is no monetary isolationism any more than there can be political isolationism.

Regulation of the supplies of money, whether in the form of cash or credit, is primarily the responsibility and prerogative of each coun-

THE AUTHOR—AT LEFT

Camille Gutt, brilliant 62 year old Belgian financial authority, has been Managing Director of the Fund, and Chairman of its Executive Board since May, 1946. Co-originator of the Benelux customs union, he also fostered the drastic deflationary program which largely accounts for his country's amazingly early recovery. As a private businessman, Mr. Gutt has been associated with the Ford Motor Company for 19 years and has held directorships in non-ferrous metals, electrical equipment, and other industrial fields. He is an excellent horseman, flies his own plane, is widely read, and is an exemplar of the all-but-lost art of good conversation. Two of his three sons were killed in World War II. He is himself a veteran of World War I. During World War II, he was Belgian Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs, National Defense and Communications in the London Government in exile.

Camille Gutt

THE DIRECTOR OF THE UN'S $8,000,000,000 INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND EXPLAINS HOW

Your Bread and Butter

. . . and the baby's shoes

HOW THEIR COST AND THEIR AVAILABILITY
BOTH DEPEND ON STABLE CURRENCY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

try's own government. But since over the long view the soundness and stability of that money, what it will buy in markets at home and abroad, depends in greater or less degree upon sound stable money around the globe, 48 nations have joined hands in a co-operative institution designed to maintain order and predictability among the many different money systems in the world.

That institution is the International Monetary Fund. Through it the 48 nations have agreed to abandon the practice of using exchange as an implement of trade warfare. They have agreed to work toward the elimination of currency restrictions. They have committed themselves to an effort to establish consistent rates for the world's currencies in terms of gold and the US dollar.

And to demonstrate their good faith, they have contributed $8 billion of their gold and other money to the Fund to enable it to achieve a ready exchange of one currency for another, in accord with a coherent and orderly pattern of rates.

It is in this way that the Fund is striving to foster free trade and prosperity on a global basis.

At first glance, this may seem like a rather limited approach to a very broad objective. The contrary is true, however. For the Fund's concern for a member nation's currency is like the diagnostician's concern for the health of his patient. He does not consider the heart or lungs only but the condition of the entire body.

So, too, the Fund does not regard the rise and fall of currency as isolated phenomena, but rather as part of the over-all economy's organic functioning. Hence behind the Fund's approach to its problems is the relationship of currency to the sum-total of economic activities.

To help a country solve its currency problem, the Fund first conducts a close and comprehensive study of its entire economic structures. It appraises natural resources, and their capacity of development. It examines imports and exports, and the spread or balance between them. It inquires into industrial production from the standpoint of existing facilities, size and skill of the labor force. It looks into birth and death rates and population shifts. It considers the effect on the economy of wage and hour laws, of rationing, of price control.

The Fund's Board of Directors frequently feels called on to recommend to a government that it change its financial policy. It may be, in the Fund's opinion, that a particular government should take immediate steps to balance its budget, reduce the amount of its investments in industrial expansion, maintain high taxes, contract bank credit, encourage private savings, withdraw some of the money in circulation. All were advocated by the Fund's Annual Report in 1947-8 as possible measures to curb inflation in various countries. The same cures for inflation have been urged specifically on individual governments in private and candid conferences.

BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE BIG, ROUND DOLLAR

Certainly the mere title of the International Monetary Fund gives little idea of its scope, and its manifold purposes. To the man on the street, the Fund is too often only "something set up to handle money transactions." But it is a good deal more than that. It does far more than that. At this stage of the Fund's work, for example, foreign exchange restrictions and what we call the "inconvertibility" of many currencies remain grievous impediments to freer trade and to world economic recovery. Inconvertibility poses problems which are not easy to solve.

The problems arise largely from World War II. Many countries, particularly those impoverished by the war, must depend principally upon the US as the source for the commodities and equipment they require. On the other hand, they have been unable to produce goods and sell them, even in roughly comparable quantity, to the US.

They have, therefore, to dig deeply into their gold and dollar reserves to make up the difference. In addition, they have had to seek substantial loans, primarily from the US. To husband the remainder of their gold and dollars, they have had to impose a vast array of restraints on the release of such assets lest they dribble out through the national banks in exchange for other currencies.

Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Italians and the citizens of virtually all other nations prefer US money to any other simply because dollars will enable them to buy in the US products that are unobtainable elsewhere, at least at a reasonable price. For the same reason, those having sounder money are reluctant to exchange their own for other currencies.

Yet it must be underscored that production shortages explain only in part the inflationary trends that have complicated international currency exchange. After all, cannot high prices be due not only to an undersupply of goods but also to an oversupply of money and credit? To pose this question is to get down to the brass tacks of the Fund's responsibility in advising its members as to what course they should pursue, and in assisting them to overcome their exchange difficulties.

Under the Fund's Articles of Agreement, the currency rates of its members are set by the individual governments, but only after consultation with the Fund. On any change of more than 10 per cent, the member must obtain Fund sanction. Before officially endorsing a question of any currency, as measured in gold or the US dollar, the Fund feels a profound and continuing obligation to validate that rate by seeing to it that it reflects an accurate assessment of the economic conditions that may prevail at a given time.

Every Fund member must furnish relevant background information to support a claim that its currency rate is worth X rather than Y, more rather than less. It has to supply precise information on its holdings of gold and foreign exchange, its national income and its price indices on a cross section of commodities, figures on sale of merchandise at home and abroad, on its international investment position, and balance of payments.

All these are carefully scrutinized, sifted, studied by the Fund's large staff of economic, monetary and research experts. They supply the Executive Board with a flow-chart stream of reports which enable it to keep abreast of underlying economic trends in all parts of the world.

Assume, for example, that inflation is gaining momentum in a fictitious country named Phoenicia. Its price levels are seen to be rising as much as 100 per cent within a year. In other countries, too, the Fund observes, prices have also risen during the corresponding period, but only by an average of 25 per cent. Visibly,

Your Bread and Butter *continued*

Phoenicia's inflation is outstripping all others, and shows no sign of being halted.

Since the purchasing power of its currency is rapidly dwindling, Phoenicia undergoes a slump in exports. Foreign importers discover that they can no longer exchange their own stabler currencies for the Phoenician crown and then buy things cheaply enough in Phoenicia so that they can be re-sold elsewhere at a profit.

As a result, Phoenicia suffers an unfavorable balance in her foreign trade. Financial thunderheads darken the horizon. To continue to buy abroad, she must dip into her gold and dollar reserves.

As these decline people lose more and more confidence in the Phoenician crown. Investors seek to liquidate their shares and securities and transfer them abroad in that prologue to panic which bankers describe as a "flight of capital." Unemployment may be just around the corner for many. Still others who accumulated savings in a day when the Phoenician crown would really "buy something" face ruin as the value of the crown swiftly goes down.

The unhappy situation of Phoenicia would be serious enough if its repercussions could be kept within its own borders. But they ramify out to affect other nations. Economic collapse in one country may like an epidemic disease extend to others, spreading the germs of joblessness, loss of confidence, factory shutdowns, panic selling on exchange and bourse.

Poverty is an article of export. A bankrupt country not only ceases to be a market for the commerce of other nations, but it may have to default on its financial obligations to foreign investors and thereby further spread the contagion of catastrophe.

In the past, moreover, a country thus stricken has resorted in desperation to foreign trade practices so competitive in nature that they have further snarled and snafued the trade lines of other nations. Sometimes the country in trouble will offer discriminatory exchange rates—lower for nation A than for nation B. Sometimes it will subsidize the sale of particular products by offering a more advantageous exchange rate on them than could be obtained by a rival trading country. Sometimes it will simply proclaim a sudden drastic devaluation of its currency to take customers away from other countries.

Any such moves of course provoke reprisals, and interfere with the operation of the principle of free enterprise in economic intercourse among nations. The Fund, in the two years of its existence, has had a high degree of success in preventing the recurrence of such pre-war manipulations of currency. Otherwise, a reversion to this kind of international trade warfare might well have been a depressing and depression-fostering feature in the economically confused postwar period.

Hence when Phoenicia displays the usual symptoms of galloping inflation, the Fund will consult with her government about ways and means of restoring to its currency the power to buy food and clothing and pay the rent. A Fund mission, manned by a group of experts in agriculture, industry, finance, foreign trade and the like, and including perhaps the Managing Director or an Executive Director, will visit Phoenicia.

They will sit down with her fiscal and monetary and general economic experts and call in private businessmen and labor leaders and farm spokesmen to lay the groundwork for a thorough survey of Phoenicia's economy. Once this survey is completed, and its implications carefully weighed, the Fund may offer a series of specific recommendations to remedy inflation.

It may urge the Phoenician government to cut spending on arms, or on social services, or other projects. It may urge it to increase bank reserve requirements to stiffen its currency backbone. It may urge the cutting of imports of non-essential goods such as luxuries. It may urge the Phoenician government to focus attention on more efficient use of productive facilities, new management techniques, elimination of waste.

The Fund likes to be "invited to the party" when one of its members shows signs of needing advice and guidance on how to maintain its currency rate on an even keel. The 48 member governments increasingly have displayed their willingness, and even eagerness, to solicit the Fund's aid through consultation. But if an invitation which the Fund is anxious to receive should be slow in coming, it may hint in the right quarters, in a friendly fashion, that a discussion party really should be given for some of its representatives to enable them to become better acquainted with certain questions.

If the Fund's directors find that a member has broken the rules, something that has occurred rarely, they call attention of the government concerned to the fact that an infraction has occurred. Then they apply themselves to the task of helping the member find another way out of its tribulations and vicissitudes.

THE ABC OF THE IMF *(International Monetary Fund)*

WHEN WAS THE FUND FOUNDED?
Proposed at Bretton Woods, July, 1944, established December, 1945, open for business March, 1947.

WHAT ARE THE FUND'S PURPOSES?
To discourage cutthroat currency competition and exchange restrictions that stifle world trade.

WHAT CAN THE FUND DO?
Shore up currency stability of member nations, make available foreign exchange.

HOW DOES THE FUND DO THIS?
By selling foreign exchange to its members. Sales must be limited to 25 per cent of a member's quota in any 12 months. All sales are subject to a service charge of ¾ of 1 per cent. The Fund's net income in the 1947-48 fiscal year was about $1½ million.

WHO PAYS WHAT?
Each Fund member pays in a set quota. Quotas range from $500,000 for Honduras to $2,750,000,000 for the US. Voting power is controlled by quotas.

WHO RUNS THE FUND?
The Board of Governors (one governor representing each member country) which delegates to the Board of Executive Directors many of its powers. The Board of Executive Directors consists of 14 men—5 chosen by the US, UK, France, India and China, and 9 elected by the Board of Governors.

IT IS CURRENCY AND CHECKS, DUE BILLS AND CREDIT SLIPS—
CARTONS, CLOTHESLINES AND ERSATZ SHELLAC—
BOOKS, BLUEPRINTS, MAGAZINES—TECHNOLOGY'S HANDIEST HANDMAID

Policy Report
On World Trends in Pulp and Paper

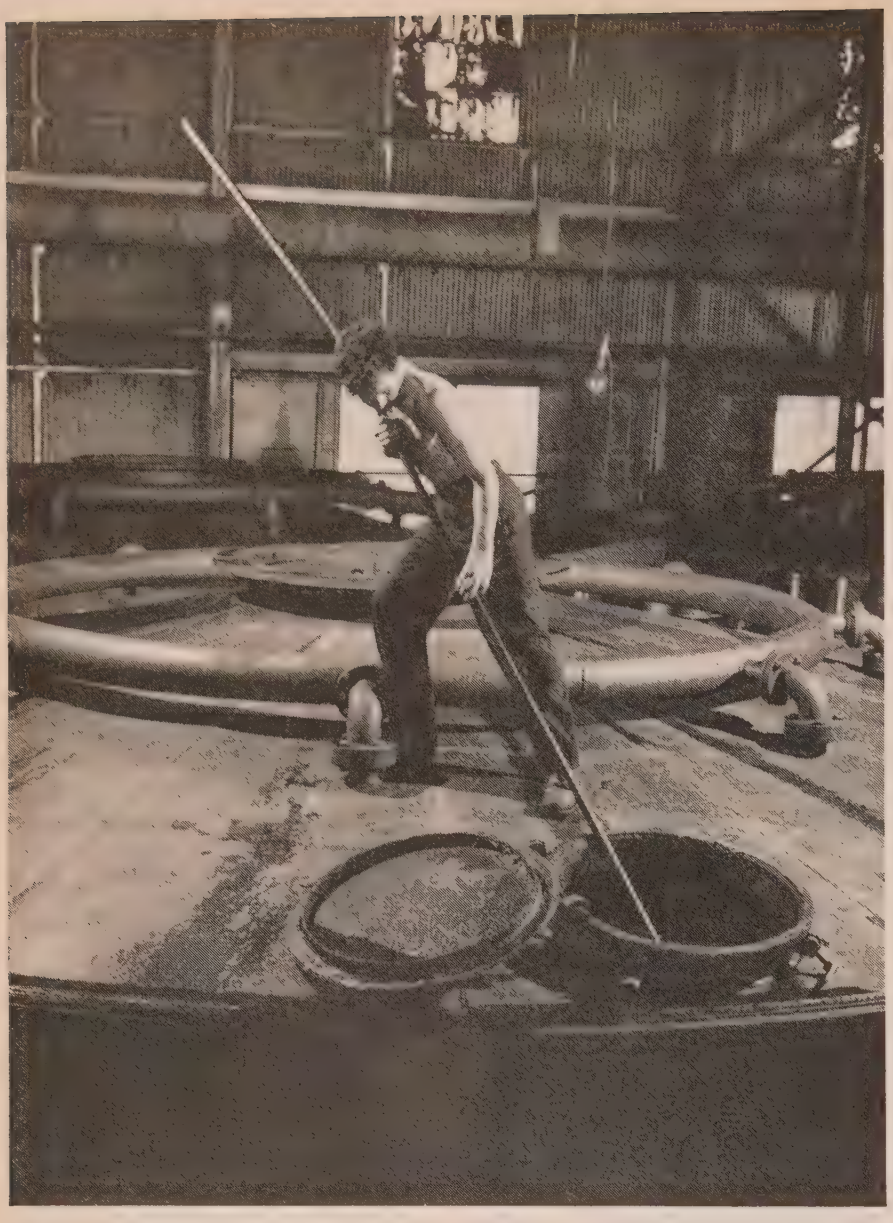
SEVENTH IN A SERIES OF UN WORLD COMMODITY SURVEYS BY THE EDITORS

LOG-SIZE ROLLS are fed into cutting machines in a West Virginia Pulp & Paper Co. plant. The man in center operates the crane which hoists rolls onto the cutters.

THE ultimate contest is the war of ideas. Even at this moment behind the peace-feelers being put out by East and West, is the big push to capture the moral allegiances of mankind, as well as diplomatic and strategic positions.

As this struggle unfolds, it becomes daily more evident that the Marshall Plan cannot obtain its objectives with dollars only, any more than the Molotov Plan can gain its goals with rubles alone. To make democracy a fact in Western Europe, to make communism a fact in Eastern Europe, requires a moulding of minds at a rate and on a scale unprecedented in human history.

Central to this supreme debate, this war of words and ideas, is paper—paper for books, for magazines, for the daily press, for propaganda leaflets. During the Italian elections, for example, among funds raised by US trade unionists supporting the De Gasperi coalition of Christian Democrats with Saragat's right-wing Socialists and Pacciardi's Republicans $27,500 was earmarked for a single crucial purpose: the purchase of paper that would enable the De Gas-



SOUP STRAINER. This vat, called a tank, is actually a mammoth colander. The workman, in modern dance pose, stirs wood-chip "soup" to drain off the resinous stock.

Pulp and Paper *continued*

peri alignment to print its platform and pledges and pleas, and so counteract Communist proselytizing.

Hence the query put often by Marshall Plan critics to ECA Administrator Hoffman and the US Congress: "Will more paper for books and newspapers and other periodicals make democracy a working reality in Western Europe?" That question has been best answered by the *London Economist:* "Certainly not, but it will not work without them."

Nor could modern industry, or government, or education, or science or art or anything else work without paper. It is the only commodity for which there is no substitute. During World War II, paper was used in place of glass, silk, canvas, cork, felt, shellac, mica, plaster, straw, slate, leather, and tin-foil.

The reverse, however, does not hold. Although paper has sufficed as an emergency or long-term substitute for more than 250 articles, none of these can pinch-hit for paper. Potatoes can be eaten instead of bread, coal burned instead of oil, plastics used instead of steel but nothing else can do the job, can stand-in for paper which besides being the carrier and conduit for the printed word, is money and grocery bags and lampshades, telegrams and stock certificates. It is letters and postage stamps. It is factory blueprints and electrical insulation. It is business records, government forms, packaging for foods and drugs, and containers for shipping them. It is drinking cups, navigation charts, towels and directories.

Despite the pervasive and omnipresent character of paper the essentials of its manufacture remain the same as they were in 105 AD when the Chinese government official, Tsai L'un, first invented paper as distinct from papyrus made of the reedy plant of the Nile delta, and parchment made of the skins of sheep and goats.

To make paper, cellulose from almost any source—rags of cotton or wool, or silk or pulpwood from trees—is broken up by pounding into individual fibers. These are then suspended in water, a thin gruel which is drained through a fine-mesh screen until the fibers are transformed into a thin, moist, felted mash from which the water is removed by means of evaporation and/or heat and pressure.

But while the fundamental process has remained virtually unaltered down the ages, the changes and refinements beyond the rudimentary stage have been prodigious, even awesome. Today's paper-making machinery often reflects an inventive ingenuity, an engineering exactitude, and a mechanical accuracy unsurpassed by any other contrivance of equal size. A machine turning out newsprint, for example, may be a hundred yards long, produce an unbroken web of paper 24 feet wide, at the rate of 2000 feet a minute, at a tolerance "set" of one-thousandths of an inch.

One mill may make only newsprint, another magazine or "glossy" stock, a third stationery, a fourth the ultra-specialized tough resilient paper used for currency.

The US pulp and paper production ranks sixth among all industries in size. It employs 173,000 workers in 37 states. With a capital investment of $3 billion it annually turns out a product valued at almost exactly the same amount. The major reason is that in the last half century US consumption of paper has risen from 57 pounds per capita in 1899 to 355 pounds in 1948.

Behind that increase, stimulated during the last two and one-half years by foreign shortages and demand for exports, has been the development of an economic system which in terms of technology and merchandising is the most advanced in the world, even

if in terms of literacy it ranks only eighth.

But a large part of the phenomenal growth of the paper industry, in the US and to a lesser extent abroad, cannot be explained by general industrial progress. Paper as a commodity depends for its success upon the low-price service which it renders—as Dr. L. T. Stevenson, able US paper economist has pointed out. Hence the search for low-cost materials is constant, intense, even feverish.

In the first place, to meet boom demand and maintain their lush profits, paper companies have to reach out for sources hitherto untapped. In the second place, paper is exquisitely sensitive to the rise and decline of purchasing power. In 1921, for example, when the boom following upon World War I collapsed, paper sales dipped 34 per cent in nine months. After the stock market crash of nearly two decades ago, nine major paper corporations which had an aggregate net income of $24.1 million in 1929 showed a joint loss of $12 million in 1932. In the 1938 "recession" 10 leading paper concerns that together had made $30 million in 1937, were down to $11 million in 1938.

Consequently, over the last 20 years, the US paper industry has turned to research, very intensive research in laboratory and afield, not only to find new sources of raw material but also to develop new techniques in manufacture and marketing, as well as to foster new uses for paper as a hedge against future decline in the business index.

From such research organizations as the Institute of Paper Chemistry in Appleton, Wis., the College of Forestry's Paper Division at Syracuse University, the Department of Agriculture's Pulp Laboratory in Peoria, Ill., together wth 25 other similar institutions and the research departments of private concerns, constantly come new developments—

- To reclaim wastepaper more effectively.
- To extract gums and resins from pulp more quickly.
- To control stream pollution.
- To make the surplus of aspen trees in the Lake States as good a source of pulp as the famous but dwindling stands of spruce.
- To survey new uses for paper tissues, packaging, building.
- To make paper from cotton, flax, sugar cane, straw and other sources of cellulose, the indispensable ingredient for paper making.
- To discover new tree species that under chemical treatment can yield the proper fibers.
- To assist in the reforestation of vast areas.

The usefulness of research as a tool for the paper industry has been most spectacularly illustrated by the fact that during World War I, the limited supply of Northern spruce was seen as a bar to further expansion of the US paper industry. As a result of such laboratory vigils and investigations, the Southern region (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia) was by 1947 producing 49 per cent of US wood pulp, on an investment of $1,222,000,000. From 1928 to the present the paper making capacity installed in the Southern region went up from a daily 4.1 tons to 18.3 tons, while hourly earnings of paper making and pulp lumbering labor have risen more than 200 per cent. Paper from southern pine represents the bulk of the US industry's expansion during the past two decades. But since then research discoveries in "pulping" the famous southern pine, together with other varieties of trees, has enabled US paper production to grow from 5 million tons in 1914 to 22 million tons in 1948. In contrast, the UK produces 7½ million tons, the USSR 1 million tons and Sweden slightly more than ½ million tons.

This disparity is only in part a result of war devastation and economic dislocations. To be sure, Europe as a whole which in 1939 turned out some 13 million tons of paper as against 18 million in the US and Canada has been unable to restore production to even half that amount. Germany, for example, which before the war was the Continent's major producer and exporter of paper of all types and grades, has recovered only 23 per cent of its pre-war level.

But war ravages cannot entirely explain the fact that the USSR, with the greatest wood pulp resources in the world (see map on page 52), produces only 1/22 as much paper as does the US. Despite the tremendous educational literacy drives, the growth of a bureaucracy that uses more paper

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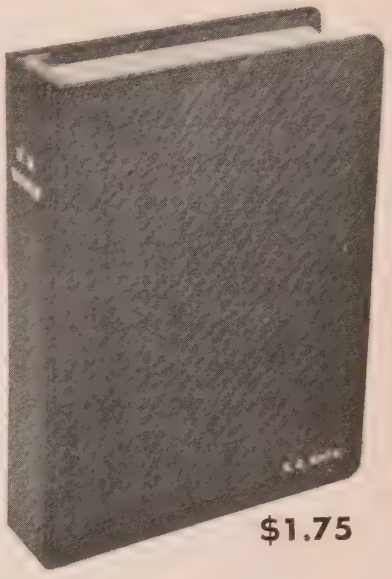

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in a week than did the czarist government in a year, despite the vast number of newspapers, journals, books, the USSR has not achieved in paper production advances comparable to those on other industrial fronts.

This has been a conscious choice. Timber in the form of logs has been a major cash-on-delivery export, and without sufficient motor-saws and with only sleighs for haulage in many areas, Commissars for Forest Products and Foreign Trade believed that only a limited amount of timber could be or should be diverted to wood pulp.

In Sweden, traditional source of high-quality paper, prospects for a 10 per cent rise in 1948 production are not being fulfilled. Extraordinarily heavy snows, a shortage of lumbermen for tree felling, and resentment of farmers against the low prices offered for their pulpwood by the Sweden Timber Owners Association (a state sponsored cartel) combined to reduce production by an estimated 3½ per cent under original targets. Moreover, Swedish exports which were up some 170 thousand tons during the first of 1948 may soon decline as Brazil, Argentina and other nations resist what they believe to be unduly high prices and the need to deal with Sweden through a hard currency medium.

Meantime, in other parts of the world:

■ Java—Unsettled political conditions have reduced the supply of newsprint to 4 per cent of that available in 1939, thus cutting all printed matter by 96 per cent, arousing fierce protests.

■ Burma—The government claims that the manufacture of paper from bamboo has become a practical and potentially profitable reality. Some 12,000 square miles of virgin bamboo stands are both accessible and economically exploitable.

■ Czechoslovakia—The deportation of 3 million Sudeten Germans mainly between June, 1945, and November, 1946, resulted in drastic labor shortages in the paper industry since most of the paper mills and the forests of Bohemia are located in the Sudeten area.

■ China—The war has halted the efforts of the Chiang Kai-shek government to establish a modern "pilot" pulp mill at Mamoi, in the Province of Fukien, famous for centuries for its fir and pine. The proposed plant which would have occupied 1000 acres and cost $20 million was to have been the first of several to lift the annual consumption of paper from the present average of one-tenth of a pound per person.

The potential rise in living standards and literacy in tropical, hardwood areas, together with the certainty of an increase in paper demand in the temperate zones, indicate early exploitation of new methods of using hard woods (other than bamboo) and such annuals as cornstalks, and other woody-fibered plants.

As industrialization programs go forward in underdeveloped areas in Asia and Latin America and Africa; as Europe strains to restore and then to exceed its pre-war living standards, the global demand for paper—in all its prismatic forms—will mount steadily, insistently, inevitably. For paper remains not only the indispensable staple of present-day civilization but also its symbol and sounding board.

MAJOR STANDS OF FORESTS SUITABLE FOR WOOD PULP

Source: American Paper and Pulp Association

THIS LOPSIDED WORLD. The Soviet's great softwood forests produce only one twenty-second as much paper as the US which —except for Alaska—has only a scanty supply. The timber of both Alaska and Siberia is difficult to harvest.

Bertil Ohlin declares

SWEDEN'S SPOKESMAN FOR FREE ENTERPRISE DECLARES REVOLT IS BORN OF DENIAL, NOT DEMAND

There Is No Turning Back

FOREMOST WORLD TRADE ECONOMIST EMPHASIZES IN EXCLUSIVE UNW INTERVIEW THAT WORLD LIVING STANDARDS MUST GO ON RISING—OR ELSE

Bertil Gotthard Ohlin is Professor of International Trade in Stockholm University's College of Commerce (Handelshagskolen). He is also the Chairman of Sweden's Liberal Party which in the last election scored such a success that it became the main opposition party to the Socialist government in power since 1944. Ohlin, who has been for 10 years a member of the Riksdag (the lower house of the Swedish Parliament), and served as Minister of Commerce in 1944-45, may be Sweden's next Prime Minister should the enlightened capitalism which he exemplifies continue to gain adherents at the same rate of speed it has recently displayed.

A practicing democrat, Professor Ohlin commonly walks the mile that separates his scholar's desk and his seat in the Riksdag. His philosophy is further exemplified by his defense of mass production.

"It is not true that standardization interferes with individualism," he says. "In fact, it leaves a reasonable outlet for it. One of the most democratic institutions is the ready-made suit because it has helped the world to break down the barriers of society and eliminate much of the class cleavage. If esthetes maintain that the machine and standardization have killed individuality and turned modern men into slaves, they are not telling the truth. The machine actually made man free by shortening the working day and increasing his possibilities as a human being, enabling him to read, go to the theater and, above all here in Sweden, attend those institutions which during the last 30 years have produced the first truly democratic leaders from the masses—the Workers' Educational Movement, the People's University, and the councils of the municipal government."

1 *What do you believe to be the major underlying obstacles on the road to European recovery?*

While all the nations of Europe are on the road toward economic recovery, the rate and rhythm of recovery have been impeded by: (a) the violation of the historic economic law that, in the long run, there can be no process of regression in income levels and living standards; (b) the fact that yield of the soil still depends in very great measure upon the uncontrolled influence of the elements. When people have become accustomed to a certain level of income and have tasted its comforts, they refuse to relinquish them. If causes beyond their control depress or impair their living standards, they protest. The result is social unrest. The case of France graphically illustrates the operation of this inexorable economic law. From V-E Day forward, France has epitomized this vicious cycle: Lack of goods and ability to buy them fosters social discord which hinders production. In turn, low production retards recovery, lowers living standards and breeds further social disorder.

However, today a break in the cycle can be observed. Bumper crops—due largely to non-recurrence of the droughts, floods and frosts of previous seasons—will inevitably promote economic well-being. This will heighten output in the factory, if only because the worker can produce more when he is reasonably well-fed.

2 *Do you think that increased trade between the East and the West would decisively lift world trade as a whole?*

There is no doubt that an increase in the East-West trade would do much to stabilize and balance the European economy as a whole and, as a direct outcome, help achieve equilibrium in the world economy. However, any such development must be viewed within its political context. Political motivations today offer the most difficult obstacles to fullscale intra-European trade as well as to world trade. It is they which build fences against the normal and necessary flow of capital investment into many vital areas, just as they hold up the urgently required expansion of international trade.

Political rapprochement is the preface to economic rapprochement —rather than the reverse.

3 *Do you think that the USSR wants this trade—and, if so, how does Swedish-Soviet trade fit into the East-West pattern?*

Observing the USSR from our own vantage point, we have gained the impression that she is willing and even eager to improve her trade relations with the West; but that en-

There Is No Turning Back *continued*

couragement of this trade is distinctly subordinated to political aims. Insofar as Sweden is concerned all political parties agree that closer commercial ties with the USSR are desirable. In this regard it is only appropriate to point out that Sweden is a part of the western economic system, although her place in it has yet to be precisely defined.

4 *Do you think that the USSR's fundamental opposition to the ERP—Marshall Plan—will meet with success?*

I believe and hope that the Marshall Plan will succeed. The arguments advanced in Paris by the Eastern bloc that it is an obstacle to recovery are unfounded. The fact is that, despite Russia's non-participation in the Marshall Plan, its success will benefit the Eastern bloc as well.

5 *In your view, what parts of the Marshall Plan should be strengthened or buttressed to achieve efficiency in operation?*

When the Marshall Plan was originally conceived, it fulfilled a crucial, life-or-death need. As it is currently administered, it will help—and has already helped substantially—to accomplish reconstruction and recovery.

Although I have not been able to form a definitive opinion, my own feeling is that the multilateral payment system is not functioning as effectively as was intended. [The intent is that Sweden, for example, would buy British woolens not with ERP dollars but with crowns—a quite hard currency; Britain, in turn, would buy French silks with pounds—a moderately soft currency; finally France would buy Swedish steel with its quite soft francs. This ideal of currency equilibrium (see page 46) has not been achieved.—Ed.] It is my firm conviction that, for the Marshall Plan to succeed, a really efficient multilateral payment system must be established.

6 *On the assumption that you regard the dollar shortage as a major impediment to European recovery and world trade, what do you suggest should be done to alleviate it—(a) generally, (b) in regard to Germany, (c) in regard to Sweden?*

(a) There is no doubt that the dollar shortage contracts and constricts European recovery and world trade. The way to correct this situation is not so much to lend more dollars but to remove tariff restrictions. It is a fact that US tariffs were reduced—even though not enough—under Roosevelt, especially when Cordell Hull was Secretary of State. But the 80th Congress halted this trend.

In modern economic thinking, the high tariff is an outmoded idea. It is on the road to ultimate extinction. Mr. Hull's reciprocal trade policy, the International Trade Organization and the series of Geneva Agreements (GATT) represent the most significant forward steps, the most important economic initiatives so far undertaken in this century.

If the US carries out in practice her principles of cutting tariffs and extending reciprocal trade agreements; if she continues to uphold the International Trade Organization and the Geneva Agreements; if she continues to move away from a policy of high tariffs, other countries would depend less on American gifts and loans, since they would be able to earn their own way by selling to the US market. I know that the American people believe firmly in free and open competition. If on this score, the Americans mean what they say, and say what they mean, this belief must also be applied in the sphere of international trade.

(b) I think that the large-scale economic reconstruction of Germany would aid in alleviating Europe's acute dollar shortage. In fact, it is highly desirable that this revival take place, since it would assist in the reconstruction of all western Europe. Before the war, German industry played a major role in the international "division of labor." It supplied the rest of Europe with some 33 per cent of its industrial commodities which it is now obliged to buy from the US. If Germany could once again assume this role, it could liberate a considerable number of US dollars for investment elsewhere. I believe this would be a very favorable development for the US and the world, provided that the economic recovery of Germany were accompanied by effective safeguards against its becoming again a threat to peace.

(c) Insofar as Sweden is concerned she is eager to sell more, and to restrict imports as little as possible. At the present moment, Sweden's crown at 3.60 to the dollar is too hard and precludes successful competition in world markets. I feel that if the rate is readjusted at 4.20 (through the International Monetary Fund) the competitive strength of Swedish industry will be heightened immediately. Then Sweden could take its rightful place on the world market and avoid the need to curtail imports.

7 *Have you been able to discover a correlation between the current turmoil in Asia and the prospects for European recovery?*

It is my considered opinion that in this postwar decade developments in Asia will prove to have even more momentous consequences than those in Europe. But the present tragic conditions of flux, which exist throughout the major areas of Asia, prevent me from making any definite statement on the impact of these events upon European recovery.

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PROFESSOR AND MRS. OHLIN VACATION IN VALADALEN, NORTH SWEDEN

8 *On the basis of your recent observation of the United Nations in Paris, do you still regard the UN as an effective and efficient international organization?*

I am still convinced that the UN is rendering a service of such importance that it cannot be overestimated —especially through such instruments as the International Labor Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization and the like. Their specialized contributions lessen frictions and ease pressure points, and thus help immeasurably to maintain the world's peace.

The political side of the ledger presents an entirely different picture. We should always remember that the UN was not intended to solve the basic political problems which divide the powers. The UN assumes a will to collaborate. If this will does not exist, the UN cannot do very much.

I think that one method of increasing the practical efficiency of the UN is to cultivate the art of brevity. I am convinced that one-third of the time spent in Paris would have sufficed had the delegates shown restraint in their speeches. The cost of too much talk is too little respect. Certain Latin American delegates indulge in time-consuming oratory. When this was pointed out to them, they replied that we in the North have no appreciation for Latin eloquence. My answer to this was that eloquence should be a qualitative rather than a quantitative product.

While this may seem to be a minor point it has in fact detracted much from UN prestige and, if it cannot be remedied, it may impair the effectiveness of the General Assembly as an institution. It will be found impossible to keep the most important leaders of the world at the General Assembly three months a year to listen to protracted rhetorical performances.

9 *What kind of a job do you think the Economic Commission for Europe is doing?*

It is somewhat early to form a definite opinion of this operation since we will have to wait until its blueprints have been tested by reality. To date, the ECE has issued most illuminating and useful reports which speak well for its future guidance in European economic affairs.

10 *Do you think that war is either imminent or inevitable, and if so, what are the economic causes which are pushing the world toward another conflict?*

War is neither imminent nor inevitable. The very fact, however, that war is regarded as at all possible is by itself a terrible, a ghastly state of affairs, if only because it influences adversely the thoughts and actions of the world's statesmen.

However, I do not think that economic factors have too much to do with persistence of war tensions. Indeed, the influence of economic forces as the cause of war has been vastly exaggerated in modern times. There is no question that in times past it had a very real and decisive influence. The Colonial Wars were the last wars which were primarily caused by economic factors. On the contrary, modern wars have manifold motivations of which the economic is not necessarily the main one.

The Soviet Union, for example, despite its security cravings in terms of buffer territory and political consolidation and allegiance, does not reach out for economic aggrandizement per se.

Aside from economic and political questions is the question of moral responsibility. All of us, all people, must strive for peace. But it is particularly the obligation of those in key places to work night and day to lessen prevailing tensions and prevent the outbreak of another war which would be the "last" war in a grim and tragic sense.

A WORLD TRADE EDITORIAL—BY HERBERT HARRIS

World Business Editor

The Truman Years

what business can expect

THE JEREMIAHS who now forecast US business setbacks and even a sharp slump in '49 as a reaction to Mr. Truman's election, are hardly more reliable than the public opinon pollsters and other experts who proclaimed his inevitable defeat.

Neither assembly-line efficiency nor the yield of the soil are particularly influenced by party labels. Money, whether spent by private or public hands, still remains the energizing hormone of the economic system. There are times when the operation of economic forces is impervious to politics; and America is living through such a period now.

To be sure, a wave of selling swept the stock market on the day after the election. But Wall Street has become more the mirror of men's anticipations and intuitions than an accurate barometer of economic cause and effect. Similarly, the club-car scuttlebutt that a Democratic administration will scare investment capital into sterility has more psychological than economic significance. Actually, many financial and industrial policy makers believe that the best way to avoid increased government intervention in economic affairs is for private enterprise to take and hold the initiative in filling the country's needs for "venture" capital. Certainly any deficiencies in private outlays—in the field of durables and elsewhere—will be offset by public outlays which will total some $45 billion in 1949 and 1950.

The US business community can look forward to a period of comparative stability and high prosperity during the next 24 months, in any case, and even beyond. And even the pending rise in taxes cannot decisively dam back the continued boom.

To begin with, there is the purchasing power released by more than 60 million people with steadier jobs than ever before—working 48 to 50 weeks a year as compared to the 40 to 45 weeks customary from 1900 to 1939. The effective demand for goods and services, the much-discussed "replenishment boom" after five years of wartime scarcities and shortages, has still to catch up with supply.

The government will play its part here too. There will be subsidies and/or new appropriations, for low-cost housing, aid to schools, hospitals, health services, for rural electrification, public works, projects of the TVA type. The estimated total is $2½ billion a year. Old age insurance benefits will be increased up to 45 per cent. The continuing opulence of some 6½ million farmers will be underwritten by Administration renewal of parity and price supports. The minimum wage will probably be raised from 40 cents an hour to 65 or even 70.

Some 14½ million union members will feel a bulge in their pay envelopes and, incidentally, bring up the wage level of 7½ million unorganized. Even if individual companies have to take a smaller margin of profit as a result of income boosts for farmer and worker, this will be offset in the overwhelming majority of instances by an assured and expanding market in which greater profits may flow from a larger volume of sales turnover.

Defense spending at the rate of $15 billion a year will continue until cold war tensions definitely subside. If these should be relaxed, any ensuing arms cut will be in appreciable measure counterbalanced by the opening up of Eastern European markets. Russia and her sister states have an insatiable appetite for US oil machinery, turbines, punch presses—almost the entire catalogue.

Marshall Plan expenditures will remain at around $5 billion a year. As ERP countries move toward recovery they will be better customers for US products in accord with the 20th century economic law that the more industrialized a nation becomes, and the higher its living standards are, the more it is able to buy. At the same time our imports from Western Europe alone may amount to $7 billion a year by 1951, adding to our national wealth and alleviating the world's dollar famine.

Certainly, to allay the acute dollar stringency is to improve the world's over-all economic condition. A major step in this direction is to develop efficient apparatus for a multilateral system of currency exchange clearing and payments (see page 53). This approach will be encouraged by the ECA and by Administration backing for the Reciprocal Trade Agreements idea and the ITO.

If the present crisis in China is resolved either by the establishment of a re-invigorated and democratized Kuomintang government, or a workable coalition, there will be the potential market of 450 million human beings hungry for US commodities and credits. Raising the income of 100 million Chinese heads of families by only $15 a year would open a $1½ billion market, the lion's share of which would go for US merchandise. This same principle applies to India, to Africa, to the Middle East, to Latin America a billion potential customers.

In the over-all perspective, regardless of anything that Mr. Truman may do in his capacity as President, and whatever happens in the foreseeable future—whether war, peace, or uneasy truce—US business is going to be good. It is going to be very good, indeed.

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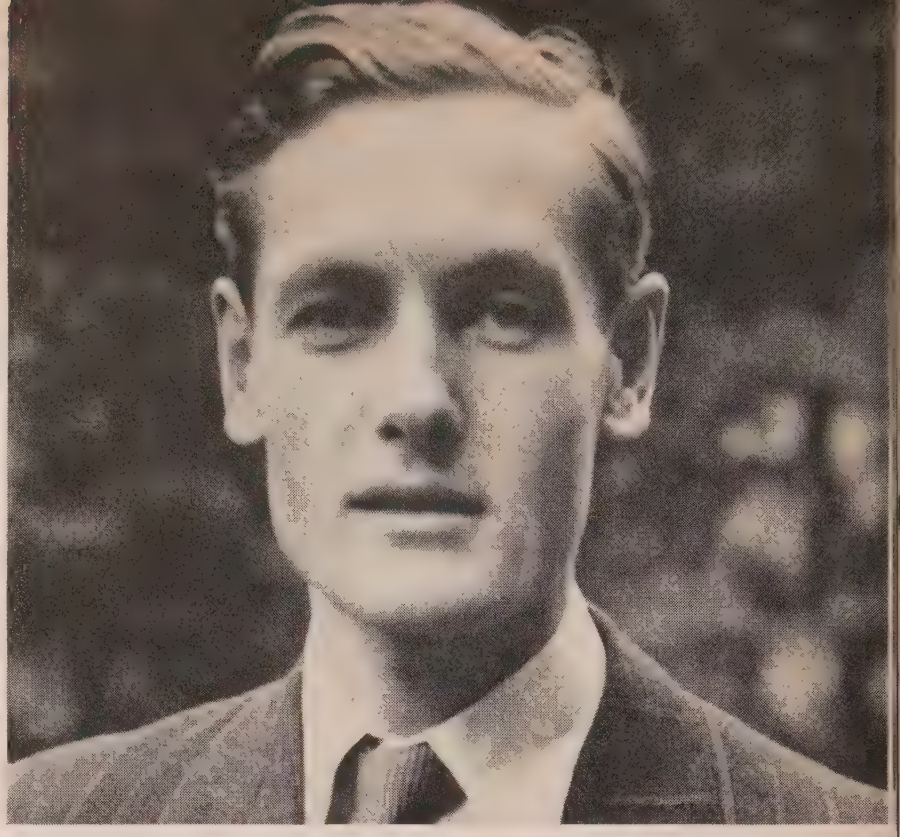
UN DIARY

The author of this article about Franco is an intimate of men who lead within Spain the hazardous opposition to Europe's last Fascist dictator. More than two years ago, Captain Noel-Baker, then recently demobilized and even more recently elected as the youngest Member of Britain's Parliament, went by way of the Republican Underground into and across Spain. The story he told on his return to London—of starvation and terror and grim determination to combat Franco rule—was published around the world. It aroused and inspirited liberals; it enraged and disconcerted Franco sympathizers. It upset the calculations of those who hoped that time would soften the world's disdain for the toady of Hitler and Mussolini.

Now again important men, some in the UN, are speaking kind words of Franco. Others instigate moves designed to restore his regime to the good society of peace-loving nations. Here Mr. Noel-Baker—who is editor of UN WORLD's British Edition—gives his informed evaluation of the Spanish dictator's prospects.



THE AUTHOR—MP, EDITOR OF UNW'S BRITISH EDITION, EXPERT ON SPAIN

Francis Noel-Baker tells of the recent Franco furor and buries the rumors that Gurney, Farley and Johnston raised

THE enemies of Franco are fighting now with higher hopes than ever since the end of World War II.

Strangely, their hopes are largely based on recent maneuvers, inside and outside the United Nations, that on the surface seemed to favor Franco.

Paradoxically, the pressing need for military, political and economic cooperation in Western Europe and renewed attempts to achieve inclusion of Spain in the United Nations are two of three circumstances seen as hopeful signs by the opponents of General Franco. The third is the welcome of the British Foreign Office to a pact between Monarchists and Socialists in Spain.

The re-inclusion of Spain in Western Europe is, it seems, the motive behind a strange series of visits to General Franco's Prado Palace in Madrid during October.

Visitor Number 1 was the US Senator, Chan Gurney, a Republican from South Dakota of whom Europe has heard nothing either before or since his Spanish trip. The Senator, after several hours with the Caudillo and General Juan Vigon, Spanish Chief of Staff, was "tremendously impressed with Franco's pride in the Spanish people and his faith in Spain's military power." The fact that Mr. Gurney is Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, and that he was reported to have with him a representative of Mr. James Forrestal, the US Secretary for Defense (though Mr. Marshall apparently knew nothing of his visit) at once provoked a crop of violent rumors, headlined in Europe's press, that the United States was planning a pact with General Franco for establishing military and air bases on Spanish soil.

Next caller at the Prado was former Democratic party chairman James A. Farley. He arrived "on business" as a Coca-Cola chief, but aimed his comments on the Spanish situation at the political, not the commercial public. "If trouble faced us in the future," he said, "Spain would be an important ally."

A few days later, Mr. Eric Johnston, chairman of the Motion Picture Producers Association and member of the 12-man "Board of Public Advisers" on the Marshall Plan, added the Caudillo to the list of leaders (including Marshals Stalin and Tito) he had called on during his European tour. He was followed in Madrid on October 13 by Rear Adm. Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, Director of the US Central Intelligence Agency, of whom it was cryptically stated that he had come on a "routine inspection," though just what the Admiral inspected is not yet clear.

Finally, Viscount Hinchinbroke, a young right-wing Tory leader in the House of Commons, arrived to lecture in Madrid and added his comment: that "the whole Conservative Party would welcome Spain's inclusion in the Marshall Plan."

Naturally, these visits, and the various statements made, were put to good use by General Franco's propaganda services.

But fears of these dramatic visits and interviews were countered and the illusion of their importance dissipated by as dramatic, and official, US denials that "no negotiations of any kind were being conducted with General Franco, or were envisaged."

Señor Alberto Martin Artajo, General Franco's own Foreign Minister, and the Spanish Press then added categorical denials of their own.

Meanwhile at Paris, in preparation for renewed discussion of the Spanish situation during the course of the Assembly, another crop of rumors went the rounds of delegates and pressmen. The Argentine, defying the earlier UN ruling, has lately worked hard to develop closer links with Spain. Now she headed a small group of Latin American States who were reported to be canvassing the delegations for the lifting of the boycott, and the inclusion of Spain into United Nations and its agencies.

The anti-Franco forces, however, had small reason for concern. So hostile was the reception to the moves to renew relations with Franco Spain that they were quickly dropped. It is now certain, that whatever steps may or may not be taken to bring new pressure for General Franco, his admission into any UN body is every bit as unlikely as it was in 1945.

The third important development affecting Spain was the outcome of months of patient and secret negotiation. In Paris, on October 6, emissaries of Spain's veteran Socialist leader, Don Indalecio Prieto, now in exile in the southwest of France, handed to the American, British and other Western Union Government representatives, the text of an eight-point pact just signed between their party (which, with the Socialist Trade Union movement, groups the biggest anti-Franco force inside Spain) and delegates of Monarchist supporters of the Spanish Pretender, Don Juan.

Next day, the British Foreign Office publicly announced receipt of the document, and made favorable and sympathetic comment. This caused no surprise to those who knew of Mr. Ernest Bevin's talks with Señor Prieto some months before, when Socialist negotiations with the Spanish Monarchists were at an early stage. But they roused the Spanish Government and press to great fury, and a series of formal protests were lodged by Spain's emissary at the Foreign Office. The reply was very cold.

Main features of the pact were clauses pledging the signatories to work together for the re-establishment of democratic freedom, the elimination of "totalitarian tendencies" whether of the Left or Right, the incorporation of Spain in ERP and in the Brussels Alliance, and the holding of a free election to determine the future Spanish constitution.

Almost at once, attempts were made to cast doubt upon the authenticity of this new pact. But the Foreign Office and the State Department seemed satisfied with the details of its negotiation as furnished to them by Señor Prieto, and repeated personally by him to me a short time ago.

WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR FRANCO

What do these three setbacks portend for Franco's future?

First, it is quite clear that the UN will not soften. The San Francisco decision, which denied membership to Spain because of its Fascist government, the Potsdam Declaration, which confirmed it, and the Tripartite note of 1946, in which Britain, France and the United States reemphasized it, still stand.

Second, Spain will not be admitted into the Marshall Plan, or into any other West European project so long as General Franco stays in power. The Western States themselves are in full agreement with the British view, lately summed up by the Foreign Under-Secretary, Mr. Christopher Mayhew, when he told the House of Commons: "As a Fascist State, Spain is a source of weakness to Western Democracy."

Third, despite General Franco's recent visitors and the rumors they provoked, the US will take no unilateral action for military alliance, or the acquisition of air bases on Spanish soil. She remains bound by United Nations rulings, and by her understandings with Western

Fourth, Spain's desperate plight, the smouldering hatred tenths of her people against Fascist rulers, and new signs of u among opposition parties, make a change of regime a very real possibility in coming months—provided always that the Western Powers keep full co-operation with Spain clearly conditional on the restoration of a democratic system.

Until that change occurs, the isolation of Spain from her European neighbors, and from wider international partnership, will be a source of weakness to Europe, and of distress and hardship to 26 million Spaniards. It is a situation that cannot indefinitely be prolonged.

But, on the other hand, to admit Spain now as a potential ally against Soviet Russia would be seen in Europe as a death-blow to the whole moral basis of the democratic case. More than that, from the purely practical, strategic point of view, it would saddle the Western Powers with responsibility for a corrupt, inefficient and militarily ineffective ally, with a crippling fifth column more powerful than any other in the world.

The Spanish people, like the peoples of every other nation, still pin their hopes on the preservation of peace. They have no faith in Communism, no desire to change one dictatorship for another. But if a new world conflict comes, and their country is involved, their overwhelming wish will be (as it was in the Second World War) to join the forces of democracy. And to the Spanish people today, the word democracy means first of all the downfall of Franco.

So, while the world discusses the "Spanish Problem," Spain's people go on hoping, and silently working, for the overthrow of Hitler's only unconquered ally.

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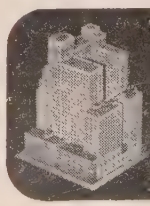

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A Spate of Angry Words

and anxious compromise

BY JEANNE WASHABAUGH

NAME CALLING AND HAIR SPLITTING SO ENGAGE EAST-WEST DELEGATES THAT OTHERS DEMAND—AND SOMETIMES GET—AGREEMENT

PARIS: Most depressing—and in one way most hopeful—thing about the General Assembly so far is the amount of talking that has been done. In its first two months it has finished only one major item of its 70-point agenda—international control of atomic energy. (This decision, although it represents no great accomplishment, maintains the Atomic Energy Commission and directs it to renew its previously abandoned attempts to establish an international control agency based on the American Plan.)

Not only has the General Assembly brought a spate of words, but these words have been some of the most impolite — even incendiary — words ever heard in international diplomacy. That they are uttered openly, that the committees in which they are uttered continue to meet—twice and now sometimes three times—daily, is the hopeful sign.

Though the six Slavic nations—USSR, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland—are consistently outvoted, they are not outtalked. When faced with a mutually distasteful resolution, each of the six presents a lengthy, documented and eloquent retort in speeches that some other delegations have dubbed "filibustering."

The vindictive, bad-tempered tone of the debates, especially in the First Committee where it is used by both "sides," has often beclouded the issues with name-calling and inspired more pessimism than is justified. Who is to blame has become more important than how to improve a bad situation. Ales Bebler, of Yugoslavia, for example, contends that the real issue in Greece is Anglo-American dictation to an illegitimate Athens Government, not aid from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to the rebel general Markos Vafiades.

His proposal that Albania and Bulgaria (which are not members of UN) be permitted to take part in Committee talks was overridden as was his request that a spokesman of General Markos be heard. The viewing of a Yugoslav documentary film refuting Greek charges that it is assisting in the guerilla "kidnapping" of Greek children out of civil war battle zones is waiting Secretary General Lie's decision on the showing of delegation films in the Palais de Chaillot.

THE BALKAN COMMITTEE JUSTIFIES ITS EXISTENCE

All Eastern Europe's efforts failed at discrediting the report of the Assembly's Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) which, these delegates charged, is the biased, inconclusive product of an illegal body (UNW's preview of the report was published in its July issue). The report is sure to be approved in plenary session and UNSCOB will continue watching the Greek border for another year.

The recommendations of the First Committee resolution on the report, jointly sponsored by China, France, US and Britain, flatly blames Greece's three northern neighbors for giving illegal aid to Markos' guerillas. A Soviet resolution, proposing withdrawal of British soldiers and American money from Greece, failed to poll more than the usual six votes.

Most progressive piece of statesmanship to come out of the General Assembly so far is Australia's resolution adopted late one foggy November night in Committee I. It proposed that negotiations be held during the Assembly in Paris among Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia under the guidance of the Secretary General in hopes of resolving their differences. It helped take the sting out of the resolution on UNSCOB and held open the door—which earlier had seemed slammed shut—on peace in the Balkans. When it was adopted, with Mr. Bebler's last-minute approval, the Committee broke into spontaneous applause.

If the General Assembly is to finish by December 8—the date tentatively set—Committee I has a long way to go. Still on its agenda are Palestine, Korea, Trygve Lie's proposal for a UN police force, Italy's colonies, the future of the "Little Assembly" and the veto. The one resolution passed in its first eight weeks—other than the try-try-again one on atomic controls—was Mexico's pious plea that the Big Five "resolve their differences." This was passed quickly by Committee I—and by the General Assembly—with no objections and no immediately apparent results.

But so strong and persuasive were the pressures for peace both inside and outside the UN, that peacemaking almost threatened to get out of hand. The calculating master minds who want compromise, but only on their own terms, found themselves faced again and again by ardent efforts to quicken the pace toward agreement.

In addition to the Australian success in bringing the Balkan neighbors together other consequential attempts at compromise have been:

- India's unsuccessful attempt to bridge somewhat the gap separating East and West on control of Atomic Energy.
- The unavailing efforts of the six "neutrals" in the Security Council to help solve the Berlin crisis.
- The dramatic Evatt-Lie move in calling upon the Big Four to meet at the earliest possible opportunity to compose outstanding differences (see page 64).

HUMAN RIGHTS AND EAST-WEST TRADE

The Economic Committee, up until the last week in October, was debating the annual report of the Economic and Social Council. This has recently been shoved off to a subcommittee. Now, for the first time, the Committee is in the news over Poland's charge that some nations, USA in particular via the Marshall Plan, are applying economic discrimination contrary to the letter and spirit of the UN Charter. The accusation has been seconded by Clementis of Czechoslovakia who made a plea for increased East-West trade, unhampered by artificial barriers which, he reiterated, are raised by the West.

GENOCIDE ALSO IS A POLITICAL PUNCHING BAG

The Legal Committee is still considering amendments and sub-amendments to the genocide convention, which has created as many fiery disagreements over the inviolability of political minorities as the question of man's right to travel where or marry whom he chooses has in the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee.

THE INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

The draft Declaration of Human Rights has finally been approved after a paragraph-by-paragraph study and pulling and tugging over every comma in the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee. The Declaration, over a year in the making, has been another friction point between East and West with each advancing the phrases that seemed to be identified with its own ideology and repudiating those tainted with an opposition flavor. Following approval of the Declaration by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council will complete drafting a Convention. This, when ratified, will be the world's equivalent of the US Bill of Rights.

TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE MARKS TIME AND RECORDS TROUBLE

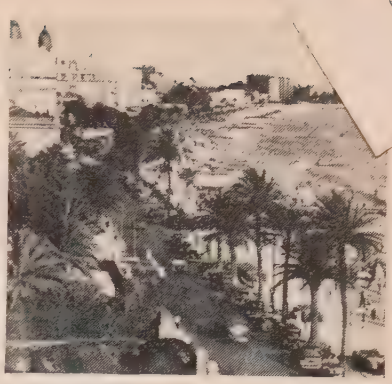
To date, the Trusteeship Committee's main accomplishment has been to extend the life of its Special Committee which analyzes the reports on some 60 non-self-governing territories. With the aid of the Secretary General, the Committee then makes recommendations on colonial policy to the General Assembly.

In current meetings the Slavic representatives have resumed their role of defenders of colonial peoples, urging that the governing powers report annually on political progress made by these peoples and that UN send visiting missions to the territories as well as to the trusteeships. Both suggestions were turned down.

THE BUDGET MAKERS STAND THEIR GROUND

With few exceptions, the budget of every branch and department of UN has been pared down by the Budget Committee from the original estimates. Worst-hit was Benjamin Cohen's Department of Public Information which next year will have to get along on $2,860,050, $479,865 less than its '48 budget. It is still the most expensive department of the UN proper. Even this technical dollars-and-cents Fifth Committee got into the East-West conflict. The argument involved Czechoslovakia's resolution to replace its ex-UN delegate, Jan Papanek (who, incidentally, is on trial in absentia in Prague on charges of appropriating government funds from the Czech Delegation account in New York and Children's Aid funds sent to US to be used to buy medical equipment). A violent opponent of the new Czech régime, Papanek now holds positions on two UN expert committees on financial matters.

The Budget Committee rejected the Czech offer to replace him, pointing out that Papanek serves on the committees as an individual not as a government representative.



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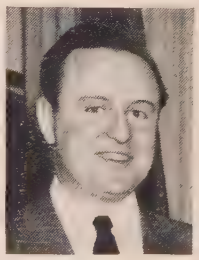

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SKI-ING IN THE SAVOIE ALPS

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At Lake Success, the temporary "garage" home of the United Nations, some 350 journalists, mainly Americans, cover its routine activities.

The Third General Assembly is not routine, and it is being held in Paris' famous Palais de Chaillot. More than 1500 correspondents are accredited here from about 60 different countries, and they are giving it the biggest press coverage ever given any international conference.

Never before, the UN's press section proudly points out, have newsmen from so many of the world's greatest newspapers been collected under one roof; never before have so many reporters come so many miles—from Karachi, Batavia, Seoul, and Chicago. Many have come bearing an ax to grind or hack with; but they have come.

Of the 1500 surprisingly few are big-name journalists. The two famous French commentators, Genevieve Tabouis and André Geraud (Pertinax) are present, daily. Larry Lesueur is here for Columbia Broadcasting Company. John Gunther, Anne O'Hare McCormick, William L. Shirer, J. P. McEvoy and others of their stature turn up briefly, and then depart.

Most news services and papers have sent their regular diplomatic specialists. The UN veterans are here: Frank Carpenter of Associated Press, Homer Metz of *Christian Science Monitor*, Michael Fry of Reuters, John Rodgers of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Robert Manning of United Press, Thomas J. Hamilton of the *New York Times*, and Charles Lambert of *London Daily Herald*.

More journalists from Eastern Europe are attending than at any previous UN meeting. The Soviet news agency, Tass, has sent five men; Tanjug, the Yugoslav agency, five; Ceteka, the Czech agency, two; the Polish Press Agency, five. There are two reporters from *Pravda* and one from *Izvestia* and a dozen correspondents from individual newspapers in Eastern Europe. Gratified United Nations press officials say better Eastern European representation is partly due to the Assembly being held in Europe where travel costs are lower. They also intimated that Eastern European newsmen haven't always been sure of getting a US welcome (or even a visa) to go to Lake Success.

Russian and Eastern European editors fight the cold war by predicting that US and Britain will have a hard time proving they mean peace when their UN positions are so rigid, so "mistily" hostile to all Russian offers at compromise. The increasing impatience among smaller countries with the Big Four is often reflected in editorial opinion, particularly of Latin American and Indian papers.

Even though 500 reporters from Parisian and provincial French newspapers are accredited, the National Assembly rather than the General Assembly makes the headlines here. There are 125 journalists in Paris from England and British papers are giving the UN more space than ever before. A London journalist said that his editors are using stories—on atomic energy for instance—which he filed months ago. The Norse countries are well represented, a leader of the Scandinavians being Gunnar Fagrell who recently resigned as Editor of the Gothenburg *Handelstidnings* to devote his full time to editing the Swedish edition of UNW. Papers in the Benelux countries and Italy are playing UN news strong.

Latin America is represented by 30 reporters; at Lake Success there were only a handful. Canada has sent 15. Newspapers in the Near East have men on hand mainly to keep tabs on what happens to Palestine. China is represented by six newspapers as well as by the government-owned wire service, the Central News Agency of China, which serves 3000 newspapers. There are also journalists from Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China and India.

Associated Press bureau chief is Charles Grumbach. There is an AP booth in the plenary hall and in each of the committee rooms. From each booth a Morse operator clicks off bulletins to the main AP office from where they are relayed to the AP Paris bureau on the other side of town and simultaneously to the London office. Reuters, United Press and INS work the same way. They have large staffs, enabling them to cover all meetings, press conferences and casual corridor diplomacy.

Two hundred fifty correspondents for all sorts of publications of all political and other coloration put the US second to France in total number of accredited journalists.

The press working area is furnished like a Spartan city room with 25 long, bare pine tables, hard chairs, a row of phone booths and 40 rickety French-keyboard typewriters.

Many of the newspapers and the news agencies do their work in separate cubicles; walking along the corridor, one sees signs over the doors for Athens *Press*, Philadelphia *Record*, Aneta (Dutch news agency), *El Tiempo*, *Norsk Telegram Byra*, *Socialdemokraten*, *Davar* and so on.

The farther they are from Europe, the more glibly do newspapers talk about war. Latin American and US papers are most prone to play up its inevitability. The European press, French especially, is much more cautious. And during the period when the Berlin case rose to a crisis, Eastern European newspapers did not propose dissolution of the UN or hint that war must come, though they loudly blamed the tension on saber-rattling Anglo-American "interests."

Many western newspapers, by contrast, evince a lack of faith in the UN, even propose that it would be better off without the USSR, thus openly supporting the idea of two worlds.

In fact, the press generally seems to have accepted the idea of Two Worlds. Depending on its home base, almost every publication is either pro-US or pro-USSR. The lack of a one-world journalism is among the greatest hazards the UN has to face—whether the number of individuals "covering" it total 350 or five times as many.

J. W.

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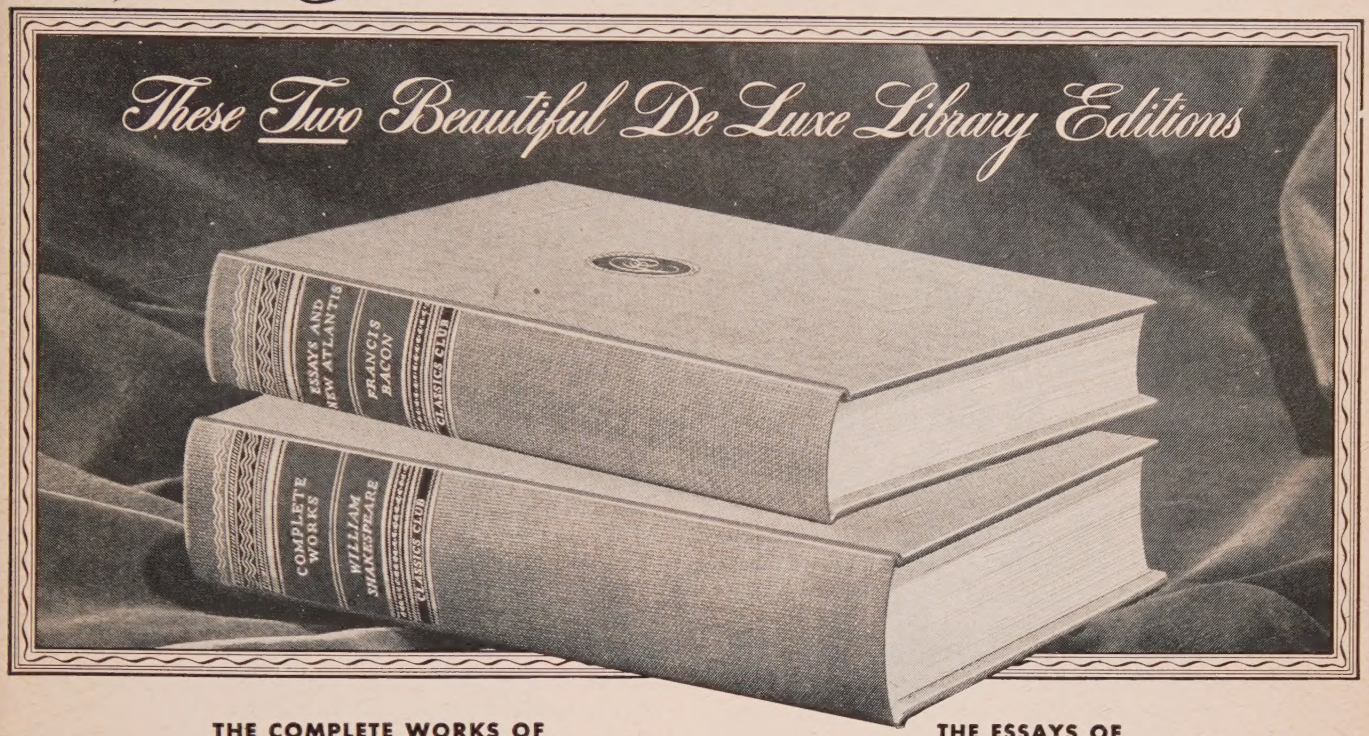

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AN EDITORIAL—BY LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor

One Step Into the Future

Evatt and Lie Sacrifice Fusty Precedent in an Effort to Assure the World's Peace

THE PRESIDENT of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, and the Secretary General Trygve Lie, have taken a historic step. With their demand that the Four Powers begin conversations on measures to end the Berlin crisis and negotiations leading toward the long-overdue peace treaties for Germany, Japan and Austria, they departed from the traditional position of extreme and non-committal caution of high international officials.

Their appeal was made directly to the chiefs of state of the US, USSR, Great Britain and France. Failure may cost them their jobs; but success would give them unprecedented prestige in the eyes of the world.

Though temporarily rebuffed by the Powers, they have set precedent. Never before has an international official dared to intervene publicly in a most controversial issue at a critical moment. And they intervened, not with platitudes, but by taking a clear-cut stand.

Drawing-room diplomats must be shivering in their boots at such heresy. Certainly they are congratulating themselves on having made their own careers by never taking any initiative. Our congratulations go to Messrs. Evatt and Lie on their great courage and unselfishness and, above all, on their devotion to the high responsibilities of their offices.

Both epitomize the type of UN statesman who sees beyond his own person and his own country and identifies himself with the interests of mankind. By so doing they have rendered a great service both to world peace and to world democracy.

Dr. Evatt has been frequently and violently attacked by the representatives of the Soviet bloc. He has fought an unrelenting battle against the veto provisions of the Charter and their abuse. Ever since San Francisco, he has striven for the right of the small powers to make their voices heard in the UN.

And Trygve Lie was only recently attacked in Soviet, Czech and Polish newspapers for his report to the present Third General Assembly. They branded him a tool of the West, a stooge of Western Imperialism, a traitor to UN.

Neither of these men can be suspected of improper motives in acting as they did. Actually, either would fare very badly in case of victory of Communism in his country or in the rest of the world. These facts must be made clear because, at present, any one who attempts to find a peaceful solution for the problems they have tackled is immediately suspected of Soviet sympathies.

The motives which prompted Evatt and Lie arise from their conviction that negotiation does not mean surrender, and that efforts to assure peace are an essential duty for the two highest officials of the UN.

Any one who has studied the structure of the UN and the text of the Charter knows that the General Assembly has the specific responsibility to "consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security" (Article 11). No one, consequently, can deny to the President of the General Assembly the right to act at a time when—in the words of the unanimously adopted resolution of November 3—"fear of another war is crippling the effort of all nations to repair the damage of the last war . . ."

It is true that the Evatt-Lie initiative apparently pleases the Russians more than it does the West. But in the long run it weakens the Soviet interpretation of the Charter that problems of peace are the exclusive responsibility of the Security Council—in which the veto is always the last word.

The Secretary General's policy-initiating and policy-making powers are not so clearly established as the Assembly President's. Under the Charter, he is the chief administrative officer of the UN with the power to draw the attention of the Security Council to any matter which may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security (Article 99). It is argued that Article 99 does not provide for a direct appeal to chiefs of quarreling states. But, when world peace is threatened, there is no time for formalistic reasoning. Public opinion today is aware of dangers to peace, and demands infinitely more of both national and international statesmen than at any time in the past.

In the present grave circumstances the Secretary General cannot sit by quietly when any minor incident in or around explosive Berlin could set off World War III. After two years of treading lightly and speaking small, Mr. Lie has decided to do what he feels most of the people of the world want him to do. He has cast his lot with the trend of history.

Evatt and Lie were strengthened in their determination to act and, as a matter of fact, they acted only because of the unanimity with which the resolution of November 3, proposed by Mexico, was adopted. Hypocrisy is not the official rule in international conferences. The resounding speeches made in support of the Mexican resolution were not mere window dressing. The President of the General Assembly and the Secretary General took the next logical step. And, by taking it, they make the UN what the Charter meant it to be: the "center for harmonizing the actions of the nations."

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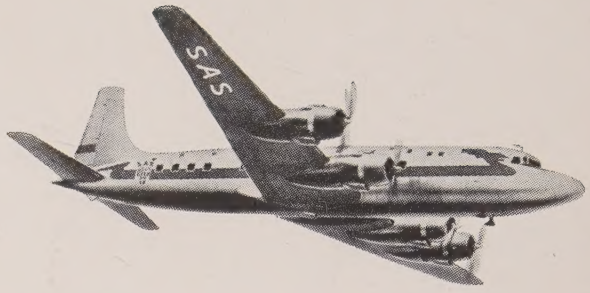

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